

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, June 4, 1998

The House met at 10 a.m.

Dr. James D. Strauss, Professor Emeritus, Lincoln Christian Seminary, Lincoln, Illinois, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, as we finalize the 20th century, we are still searching for transcendence and meaning and community. We pray that integrity and moral commitment may dominate our decisionmaking as it affects American culture and our global village.

I pray that You, God, will be the foundation of our vision. Vision without strategy is impotent. Strategy without vision is powerless. The flies that light on the Sistine Chapel ceiling see but have no vision.

Oh God of Abraham, ruler of all that there is, DNA, black holes in space and periodic charts, give us vision and strategy as we search for transcendence and meaning and community wherein dwells our peace, hope, love and justice. Without Your presence, we are cosmic orphans in our daily lives and decisions. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. PALLONE led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize 15 one-minutes on each side.

### DR. JAMES D. STRAUSS

(Mr. REDMOND asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REDMOND. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege this morning to welcome to the U.S. House of Representatives Dr. James D. Strauss. Professor Strauss was born on July 3, 1929, at a

transition time in our history. He has studied in the United States, France and Germany. Professor Emeritus of Lincoln Christian Seminary, Lincoln, Illinois, he has taught philosophy and theology for 30 years.

His special emphasis has been the influence of scientific development on the Christian world view. His major concern is to critique the impact of media and education on the Christian faith in our multicultural pluralistic era.

Dr. Strauss is no ordinary professor. For 40 years his sharp mind has ignited sleeping minds, his commitment has influenced great accomplishments in others, his servant's heart has moved others to service. His profound grasp of reality has inspired others in such a way that they understand their place in the universe. He has acknowledged that if he has made any contribution in his journey at all, it is because he has stood on the backs of giants.

With humility, we welcome to the House of Representatives Dr. James D. Strauss.

### THE MARRIAGE PENALTY

(Mr. GINGRICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to my colleagues' attention the fact that the House budget resolution, which will be debated today and probably voted on tomorrow, calls for about \$100 billion over five years in tax cuts. It specifically singles out the marriage penalty as a key tax burden that we should provide families relief from. Let me just say, I have a particular interest in this because my younger daughter got married earlier this year. She actually found out how much more she and her husband will pay.

But without drawing my own family directly into this, let me cite from Bobby and Susan from Marietta, Georgia, whom I represent. Bobby and Susan wrote in. They said, "When we figured our 1996 tax return, we figured what our tax would be if we were just living together instead of married. Imagine our disgust when we discovered that if we just lived together instead of being married we would have saved an additional \$1,000. So much for the vaunted family values of our government. Our government is sending a very bad message to young adults by penalizing marriage this way."

I just think this is a chance to vote a very simple principle. We can save 1 percent of spending over the next five years and get rid of the marriage penalty that punishes people for being married. I think to have a pro-family tax code with a slightly leaner government is a pretty good "yes" vote. I hope my colleagues will join me. Let us save 1 percent of projected Federal spending, get rid of the marriage penalty and send the right signal to all Americans.

### THE REPUBLICAN BUDGET SHOWS THE GOP'S TRUE COLORS

(Mr. PALLONE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, if anyone out there was worried that the Republican leadership of the House was straying from their extremist agenda, fear not, because the budget resolution coming to the House floor today is as extreme as they come.

First and foremost, the Republican budget resolution fails to protect Social Security, but it does not stop there. The budget resolution also cuts funding to educate our children, protect our environment, and provide adequate health care for working American families.

What is really upsetting about this Republican budget resolution is that these extreme cuts are not done in the name of fiscal responsibility or debt reduction. No, instead what Speaker Gingrich and the Republican leadership want to do is provide more tax breaks for the wealthy at the expense of American seniors, kids and working families.

The Republican budget resolution clearly demonstrates that the Speaker's priorities lay somewhere beyond the American working family. The Republican leadership has not learned any lessons since 1995, and we will see today that the Speaker will not even get the support of many of his own House Republicans, much less the American people.

### A COMMON SENSE BUDGET

(Mr. DELAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, only the Democrats would call this budget extremist. Only the Democrats would say taking 1 percent out of a \$9 trillion spending spree by this government actually designed by them is extremist, one penny out of \$1.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

The Kasich budget is a common sense document that mandates a smarter, more efficient government. It says that we in Washington should spend a little less so that the American working family can spend a little more to help them achieve their dreams.

Some Democrats find this burden to be unbearable. They say that we will not be able to find the savings. They say that we are extremist. They say we should not give working families tax relief.

I urge the opponents of this budget to justify their opposition to the American people. Tell them that you cannot save a penny on the dollar. Tell them that they do not deserve tax relief today. I urge my colleagues to support the common sense budget.

#### AN EXTREME BUDGET

(Mr. CARDIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the proudest moments of this Congress is when Democrats and Republicans, the Congress and the White House put aside their partisan differences and worked out a balanced budget. It not only balanced the Federal budget and brought us into surplus but has led to a very hot, growing economy.

Now the Republican budget would reject that bipartisan agreement and take us back to the extremism that led to the shutdown of our government. It would mean cuts up to 25 percent, not 1 percent, of many programs that we have in government.

Do not take my word for it. Senator DOMENICI said the Republican budget is a mockery. Senator STEVENS, chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations said, "I do not think Congress could function."

This is an extreme budget. For the sake of our veterans, for the sake of our students, for the sake of our seniors, for the sake of our taxpayers, let us, in a bipartisan manner, reject this extreme budget.

#### THE ENERGY POLICY ACT OF 1997

(Mr. SHIMKUS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, Congress wrote a massive energy bill in 1994 called the Energy Policy Act which outlined ways for the United States to address our Nation's vulnerable reliance on foreign oil.

Unfortunately, this statute has already run into trouble. The Department of Energy admits this in its own report to Congress stating, quote, "Despite the many uncertainties, it preliminarily appears that the programs authorized by Congress in EPACT will

fall substantially short of the year 2010 goal of 30 percent displacement."

Mr. Speaker, the program does not work. I and the gentlewoman from Missouri (Ms. MCCARTHY) have introduced legislation to address this problem. Our legislation would allow fleet managers to use biodiesel blends to comply with the mandates of EPACT, without tax credits or incentives.

I urge my colleagues to cosponsor H.R. 2568, the Energy Policy Act of 1997.

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

(Mr. KIND asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I rise today as a proud new parent of a baby boy born to Tawni and myself a week ago last Wednesday. Tawni and Matthew are doing very well at home right now. Matthew's older brother Johnny is also recovering from all the excitement.

I could not think of a better birthday present to give to Matthew and the other children around this country, as we resume debate this week on campaign finance reform, that this United States Congress enacts meaningful campaign finance reform, reform that starts to get the big money and the influence of money out of this political process so that children like Matthew across the country, who want to grow up and serve in public service, do not have to be either independently wealthy or have to go out and raise a million dollars for the campaign. That, I think, would be a tremendous gift that we can give to the children in this country.

Matthew, happy birthday. I look forward to a very long and happy life as your and Johnny's father.

#### SUPPORT FOR RESTORATION OF FOOD STAMPS FOR LEGAL U.S. RESIDENTS

(Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, today the House will likely vote on legislation which was passed overwhelmingly by the Senate to restore food stamps to thousands of disabled and elderly U.S. legal residents, as well as families with children, and they have entered this country legally, they pay their taxes and they abide by the law.

Since Congress unfairly ended food stamp benefits to U.S. legal residents, more than 900,000 taxpayers have lost their access to food stamps. Sixty-five percent of those affected are families with children. In my home State of Florida nearly 10 percent of the recipients lost eligibility, and most were families with kids. The funds for food

stamps in this bill will only be directed to legal U.S. residents who were here before the benefits were terminated.

It is fitting that this great Nation, which gave these permanent residents a new opportunity, will now lend them a helping hand in their times of need after years of contributing to our country. I urge my colleagues to restore the benefits of food stamps to U.S. legal residents.

□ 1015

#### VOTE AGAINST THE ISTOOK AMENDMENT

(Mr. EDWARDS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDWARDS. Parents, beware, Mr. Speaker. If the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) in the next 5 hours is successful in beginning the process to amend the Bill of Rights for the first time in our Nation's history, public schools across America will begin to look like public airports, where religious groups, cults and fanatics can go to our public school grounds and try to convert small children to their particular religious beliefs.

I do not think the parents of America want to send their children to school to be proselytized. They send their children to school to be educated.

I am grateful, Mr. Speaker, that just outside the halls of this historic Chamber, religious leaders of great faith from all over this country, Baptists, Methodists, Jews, Episcopalians and many other faiths will speak out against the Istook amendment, because they believe as Jefferson and Madison did that the best way to ruin religion is to politicize it. That is what the Istook amendment will do.

I urge parents, people and Members across this body and America to oppose the Istook amendment.

#### AGAINST MFN STATUS FOR CHINA

(Mr. GIBBONS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, most Americans know and understand that one's actions speak louder than words, but yesterday the President proposed giving permanent most favored nation trading status to Communist China saying that it was, and I quote, clearly in the best interest of this Nation.

We need to look past these words and check out their actions. It was just 18 months ago that our President said, and I quote, not a single, solitary missile was pointed at American children. We now know that China with the help of this administration has at least 13 nuclear missiles aimed at the United States and our children.

In 1990, China provided Iraq with the chemicals needed for a hydrogen bomb. China supplied Pakistan with a weapons grade plutonium reactor in 1991. Despite China's claim that they were not making any nuclear deals with Iran, China gave Iran a nuclear reactor in 1994. Now we are told that China is the single most important supplier of weapons of mass destruction in the world.

MFN status is supposed to be reserved for our best friends, our allies, the countries we are trying to help. Communist China is not our friend.

#### VOTE NO ON THE ISTOOK AMENDMENT

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, am I a church member? Yes, I am. Is my church important to me? Absolutely. Do I go to church as often as possible and get the good community that is there for me? Absolutely. Do I want the Federal Government to be involved in my church? No. Do I want the government to prescribe prayer in our schools? No. Today we allow already for Bible groups, individual prayer and campus meetings at our schools. That is absolute. We cannot pretend that is not already possible.

Today we will vote on a resolution that would undermine the first amendment, undermine religious freedom. Today support Madison and Jefferson and vote for religious freedom and against school sponsored prayer. Do not politicize religion. Vote no on the Istook amendment.

#### PENTAGON REPORTS NATIONAL SECURITY HARMED BY TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA

(Mr. PITTS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, it does not take a rocket scientist to know that helping Communist China with its rocket technology is not in our national interest.

According to published reports, the Pentagon concluded in a May 1997 report that "national security has been harmed" by the transfer of sensitive computer technology to Communist China's military industrial complex.

Where is that May 1997 Pentagon report, you may ask?

Well, here is another key document, a document with critical information that Congress does not possess and which Congress has been told we will never see.

What has the White House response been about this May 1997 Pentagon report? Denials, explanations?

No. We get silence. Or we get spin. Silence and spin. That is about all the American people get anymore. However, this crisis is about national security. This issue puts every American at risk. This makes the world a more dangerous place to live. It is a very serious issue. We deserve a full report.

#### BUDGET RESOLUTION DOES NOT ADD UP

(Mr. FAZIO of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, the Senate passed its budget resolution over 2 months ago. Under the rules of the House, we should have passed a budget resolution at least by the 15th of April. So we come to the floor very late today, and one would think at this late date, we would be prepared with a tight, consensus budget. In fact, that is not the case. We have a \$24 billion black hole in this budget resolution the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) will present today. We double count cuts in food stamp administration, we double count cuts in veterans spending. In fact, unless we can find alternatives to using these cuts twice, we will pass a fraudulent budget or end up cutting these programs for more than any of us intend.

The New York Times said of this resolution when it came to the Budget committee that "it fails the basic integrity test and that the House should vote it down, demanding instead a budget that is real, not rigged." I agree, Mr. Speaker. We are not ready, even at this late date, with the Committee on Appropriations waiting in the wings to deal with a budget resolution that just does not add up. Let us protect Social Security and not spend any of the surplus until we have found a solution to the baby boom bulge and bring the Social Security fund into balance.

#### SUPPORT THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

(Ms. DUNN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, today I want to urge my colleagues to support the 1999 budget resolution. Building on our success in balancing the budget, this plan outlines the next steps to empower families so that they can keep more of their hard-earned money.

By reducing government spending by one penny over 5 years, that is just one-fifth of a penny each year for 5 years out of each dollar, we can improve the quality of life in America in three important ways. First, we can continue to pay down the national debt so that our constituents pay less in in-

terest for loans, and our economy remains strong.

Secondly, we can lower taxes so that Americans keep more of their money to support their families or plan for the future. Today our citizens pay nearly 40 percent from their paycheck each month to support the government. I think that is a very unfair tax burden.

Third, we can protect and modernize the Social Security system that gives Americans from every generation the peace of mind about their retirement years. The Republican approach is a good approach. I urge my colleagues to support it.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC BUDGET

(Mr. WYNN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about the budget. Well, actually two budgets. There is on the one hand the Republican extreme budget, a budget that is irresponsible, a budget that contains a \$24 billion black hole of unspecified cuts, a budget that is weighted once again toward the wealthy. On the other hand, you have the Democratic budget. It is a balanced budget, but it focuses on people.

Why do I object to the Republican budget? First, it fails to protect Social Security. It talks about a better way of life, but the administration and the Democrats have said the first thing we ought to do is put every penny of the surplus toward protecting Social Security. That is the people's budget. That is the Democratic perspective.

Second, the Republican budget fails to invest in education. The thing that is most important for our Nation's future is to invest in education, smaller classes, schools that are in proper repair, schools that are ready to access the Internet. We need to invest there. The Republicans do not see it that way. They have a narrow view that makes draconian cuts in important programs. They do not protect our important investments. I believe we ought to reject the extreme Republican perspective.

#### UNLV'S NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP GOLF TEAM

(Mr. ENSIGN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. Speaker, I rise this morning to congratulate the golf team from the University of Nevada Las Vegas who last week brought the national championship home to Nevada. The Rebel golf team won the tournament in style, shooting an NCAA record 34 under par as a team.

College golf might not capture the attention of sports fans across the

country like basketball or football does, but I can assure my colleagues that these young athletes train just as hard and strive to win just as much as any other competitors. Senior Bill Lunde, juniors Charley Hoffman and Chris Berry, sophomore Jeremy Anderson and freshman Scott Lander not only excelled under the intense pressure of the national championship but conducted themselves with honor and sportsmanship. Head coach Dwayne Knight has realized a goal he stated 10 years ago when he told our community he would build a national championship team.

I want to congratulate the UNLV Rebel golf team. They have made the city of Las Vegas and the great State of Nevada proud and are carrying forward the strong tradition of athletic success at UNLV.

#### VOTE NO ON ISTOOK AMENDMENT

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, there is no more sacred right that we have in this country than the right each and every American takes when they go into their house of worship. The first amendment has made this Nation unique. I stand here very proudly acknowledging and embracing the uniqueness of the American flag and what it provides for us. Freedom. Freedom to sing "Jesus loves me this I know." Freedom to cross one's heart, to pay attention to one's orthodox views, whatever one might believe in. We applaud it.

That is why I stand today humbly before this House asking for a resounding vote against the Istook amendment, for it is not religious freedom, it is religious oppression. For our children today pray every day in their schools. They have organized prayer groups around the Nation. I would venture to say that everyone who takes any kind of exam in school, I would say to them, you had better pray. Pray in the school. Pray at home. Prayer is available. Freedom of religion is available. The Istook amendment will take that away from you.

#### UNFAIRNESS IN TAX CODE: MARRIAGE TAX PENALTY

(Mr. WELLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this year's balanced budget. I think these questions best state why: Do Americans feel that it is right that the average working married couple pays more in taxes just because they are married? Do Americans feel that it is fair, is it right, that 21 mil-

lion married working couples pay on the average of \$1,400 more in higher taxes than an identical couple that lives together outside of marriage? Of course not.

Americans recognize the marriage tax penalty is wrong and we need to correct the marriage tax penalty. Twenty-one million married working couples, \$1,400 more in higher taxes. \$1,400 is one year's tuition at Joliet Junior College in the district that I represent. It is 3 months of day care at a local day care center.

This budget, the budget crafted by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) makes elimination of the marriage tax penalty priority number one, helping 21 million married working families who just happen to be married and just because they are married, they pay higher taxes. Let us pass this budget. It deserves bipartisan support.

#### BUDGET RESOLUTION IS NOT BASED ON BIBLICAL PRINCIPLES

(Mr. McDERMOTT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, today we have real irony, because we are both going to vote on prayer in the schools and a budget that cuts Medicare and support and medical care for those less fortunate in our society.

This budget was put together with one hearing. They wanted to put \$10 billion in cuts on Medicare. Last night, in the middle of the night, they took that out and they have now gone after the poor.

I think the majority really ought to have had some religious education, because the Bible says, in Matthew 25, verse 35, "When I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in." Then it goes on to say:

And the king replied, "I tell you the truth, whatever you did to one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me."

Mr. Speaker, it is nice to talk about prayer in the schools, but you ought to have public policy that reflects what you believe. This budget that goes after the poor, that goes after the sick, that goes after the disabled is not a budget based on biblical principles.

#### SUPPORT THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

(Mr. TIAHRT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot of talk about the extremist budget by the extremists in the House, the radical Republicans.

Let us take a little walk down history's lane. One hundred thirty years

ago, the opponents of a better America were calling the Republicans radical. They were calling them extreme.

Mr. Speaker, it was the radical Republicans who fought for and succeeded in passing the 13th amendment to abolish slavery, the 14th amendment to guarantee the right to life, liberty and the ownership of property, and the 15th amendment to give all citizens the right to vote. They were called radical Republicans, with extremist ideas.

□ 1030

So when you hear the opponents of a better America say the Republican budget is extreme, it attacks the poor, remember history, remember our heritage. It is not extreme to protect Social Security, it is not extreme to limit the growth of the Federal Government, it is not extreme to provide a little tax relief for Americans. It is just common sense.

So I urge my colleagues to support the budget resolution.

#### SHOW US YOUR CUTS

(Ms. DELAURO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, the Republican budget is a sham, rosy scenarios in cuts that will be named later, a plan that would unravel the bipartisan balanced budget agreement. But just do not take my word for it. Here is what other Republicans are saying about the GOP smoke and mirrors.

Quote: "I can tell you there is no way for this committee to carry out its business in the next 5 years under the Kasich plan." That is the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Here is what the Washington Post says about the Republican budget, and I quote: "To promise an election year tax cut on the strength of unlikely spending cuts to be named later, all the while preaching fiscal responsibility, would be a triple fraud."

Let us end the triple fraud. We know where the Republican cuts will come, if they would only name those cuts. It will be education, it will be health care. They would jeopardize Social Security.

End the triple fraud. Let us be honest about the numbers. Show us the cuts.

#### BARRY GOLDWATER

(Mr. KOLBE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to note with profound sadness the passing of my fellow Arizonan, Senator Barry Goldwater, a great American statesman.

I was just 10 years old when I met Barry Goldwater at an old-fashioned

political rally in the little town of Elgin, Arizona. At the time he was running against an incumbent Democrat Senator, Majority leader Ernest McFarland. Nobody thought he could do it, but he won. The rest, as they say is history.

Six years later Barry nominated me to become his Senate page, and I served in that capacity for 3 years. That is when I got to know, really know, this extraordinary man. He always said what was on his mind. He never shaded the truth.

Mr. Speaker, Barry Goldwater did not spend a lot of time worrying about whether he would be elected or not. He worried instead about principles and about America. He did not change his principles, but America changed.

In an era of cynicism and distrust of public officials, Barry Goldwater's life stands as a reminder of values that are lasting and eternal—honesty, integrity, patriotism. We will miss him, but in our hearts we know he was right.

Farewell, my friend.

#### JOIN THE CONGRESSIONAL DIABETES CAUCUS

(Mr. NETHERCUTT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. NETHERCUTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to advise my colleagues that representatives of the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation will be meeting with each of you today to advocate more Federal funding for diabetes research to cure this very serious disease. Diabetes is one of the leading causes of death and disability in America.

Now these JDF representatives are not paid lobbyists. They are individuals from all walks of life, of Democrat and Republican Party affiliation. They are male and female, Democrats, Republicans, of all religions, and only caring about one thing. That is curing diabetes.

They will tell you their personal story about diabetes. They will ask you to become a member of the Congressional Diabetes Caucus, which now numbers 159 Members. They will ask my colleagues to show that they care about diabetes.

So I urge my colleagues to welcome these individuals to your offices, listen to their stories, fund the Federal research to cure diabetes, and welcome them to Capitol Hill.

#### IT IS TIME FOR CONGRESS TO EXAMINE THE THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY

(Mr. ROGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Speaker, India and then Pakistan conducted nuclear tests. China transferred nuclear technology

to Pakistan and Iran. Now we learn the United States Government may have given missile technology to communist China, the same country that transferred nuclear technology to Pakistan and Iran. But rest assured, we are told, the Chinese communist government has assured us they will not do that any more.

It is time for Congress to examine this threat to our national security. It is time for the White House to explain how it is that transferring authority for satellite waivers from the State Department to the Commerce Department was in our national interest. The White House should respond to a recent Pentagon report that concluded that "Our national security has been harmed" as a result of these transfers arising out of China's rocket failure in February 1996.

The President should respond to these questions, Mr. Speaker, before the next nuclear test takes the world by surprise again.

#### SUPPORT THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT

(Mr. THUNE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. THUNE. Mr. Speaker, there are people out there who are afraid of the Religious Freedom Amendment. They are afraid that it goes too far.

But let me just ask my colleagues this: Is it not going too far to ban prayer at high school graduations when guns and violence have become all too common in our schools?

Is it not going too far to ban nativity scenes and menorahs in public places and replace them with a Santa Claus on every street corner? And then we wonder why Christmas has become so commercialized.

Is it not going too far to ban the Ten Commandments from our schools and replace them with the distribution of free condoms instead?

Things have already gone too far, way too far. It is time to bring the separation of church and state back from the fringe of extremist interpretation. It is time to bring back common sense.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the Religious Freedom Amendment.

#### WHO IS MINDING THE STORE?

(Mr. WELDON of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, to look at American policy of helping China develop its missile and rocket programs, one can only ask who is minding the store. While most Americans would think that we should not be arming our adversaries, apparently there are some in this administration

who think otherwise. This is liberalism at its most mindless and most dangerous.

How else to explain the administration's policy of helping Communist China develop its missile and rocket program? How else to explain the administration's decision to allow the Commerce Department to overrule the Justice Department and the Pentagon in matters of national security? How else do we explain the administration's decision to help China to perfect its Long March missile? How else do we explain the administration's policy of arming the same country that reportedly has 13 long-range strategic missiles pointed at the United States?

I cannot explain it, and I do not know how the administration is going to attack their accusers this time. It is the American people who are demanding answers.

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.J. RES. 78, CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RESTORING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 453 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 453

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 78) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States restoring religious freedom. The joint resolution shall be considered as read for amendment. The amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on the Judiciary now printed in the joint resolution shall be considered as adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) two hours of debate on the joint resolution, as amended, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary; (2) the further amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, which may be offered only by the Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. MYRICK) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time is yielded for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Committee on Rules met and granted a

modified closed rule to House Joint Resolution 78. The rule provides that H.J. Res. 78 shall be considered in the House, shall be considered as read, and that the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on the Judiciary, now printed in the joint resolution, shall be considered as adopted.

The rule provides that the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto prior to final passage, without intervening motion except as specified.

The rule provides for 2 hours of debate on the joint resolution, as amended, equally divided between the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The rule provides for consideration of a further amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules, which may be offered only by the Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, and shall be separately debatable for 1 hour equally divided between the proponent and an opponent.

Finally, the rule provides for one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. Speaker, I do not take amending the Constitution lightly. In fact, I do not think we should even have to amend our Constitution to permit students and teachers to pray. Unfortunately, though, activist judges have prevented the acknowledgment of God in public. Our only remedy is to let the American people decide whether or not they want to allow prayer in schools.

Let me make one thing clear. If this resolution passes both the House and the Senate by a two-thirds majority, it is passed along to the State legislatures. To become part of our Constitution, the amendment then must be approved by three-fourths of the States.

A vote in favor of this amendment is a vote to let the American people decide whether there should be prayer in our schools. Each local community has the right to discuss the issue and decide for themselves what they would like to do. No one is forced to do anything.

Our schools should be places where children can grow in character. When judges keep God out of our schools, they prevent our children from maturing both emotionally and spiritually. Others may disagree, but I firmly believe that the Founding Fathers of this Nation did not intend to prevent our children from praying in school.

Opponents of this amendment will claim that we should not tinker with the Constitution, as if the drafters of the First Amendment meant to exclude God from our public life. God is a part of our public life. "In God We Trust" is on our money and here in our Chamber above the Speaker's chair.

To such critics I would respond that we honor the Constitution when we use

its time-honored amending process to clarify the intent of its framers.

H.J. Res. 78 clearly protects the right of each and every American to recognize their God without government interference. The plain wording of the amendment forbids the establishment of any state religion and forbids any coercion on the basis of religion.

The intent here is not to force God on anyone. The amendment simply clarifies that we are all free to engage in voluntary prayer in public places. In doing so, the amendment enhances religious freedoms for all of us.

I urge my colleagues to support this rule and allow the debate on this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The rule we are considering today would permit a vote on an amendment to the United States Constitution dealing with the subject of school prayer. Let me begin this debate by reading these words:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

For 206 years these words in the Bill of Rights have protected religious freedom and religious liberty in our Nation. Now some in this body seek to amend the First Amendment to alter this basic and fundamental section of the Constitution.

The Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, wisely crafted a very straightforward protection for religious liberty in our land. Why then do some wish to amend our Bill of Rights for the first time in our history?

□ 1045

Thirty-six years ago, the United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Engel v. Vitale*, interpreted the first amendment to bar a New York school board's requirement that students join in prayer composed by the State regents. A year later, in the case of *Abington School District v. Schemp*, the Supreme Court specifically disallowed State sponsorship of daily devotions which involved oral readings from the Bible and the unison recital of the Lord's Prayer.

I attended public schools in Fort Worth, Texas, in the decade preceding the *Engel* and *Abington* decisions. While we did not have an official regents prayer in Fort Worth, we did have daily Bible readings over the public address system. Sometimes those Bible readings were from the Old Testament, and sometimes they were from the New Testament. It did not make any difference to the school that there were dozens of students there who did not follow the New Testament, or that there may have been some who adhered to the teachings of the Koran. The

Bible readings blared out over the public address speaker system every single day.

Mr. Speaker, we have traveled some distance since those days in the 1950s, and the most blatant religious practices are no longer followed in our schools. There is a fine line today between permitting students to observe their own faith and interfering with the observation of the faith of someone else. We should not cross that line by enacting the amendment presented to us today.

The Clinton Administration has issued guidelines on religious practices in our schools that make abundantly clear where that line is. As these guidelines make clear, public school students are free to voluntarily pray privately and individually at school. Students have a right to say grace at lunchtime. They have the right to meet in religious groups on school grounds and use school facilities like any other school club. They have the right to read the Bible or any religious text during study hall or other free class time. Similarly, people who wish to engage in religious expression on public property have the same rights as people who wish to engage in comparable non-religious expression.

Not only is a new constitutional amendment unnecessary, Mr. Speaker, H.J. Res. 78 would, in a variety of ways, undermine the religious freedom we now cherish. It would embroil State and local governments in years of divisive and costly debate and litigation over its meaning, and we should all be aware it could well require American taxpayers to provide financial support to churches, parochial schools and other religious institutions.

For over 200 years, the first amendment has protected our right to be as religious as we choose. Congress should not tamper with this most precious liberty. The first amendment should not be rewritten.

Mr. Speaker, some advocates of this constitutional amendment will argue that the amendment is the answer to dealing with our growing problem of school violence. I recently met with a group of public school teachers and administrators in my congressional district to discuss this very important problem. It was clear from that meeting that the real solutions to dealing with our problem of escalating school violence are smaller class sizes, repairing our deteriorating older schools, more counselors and the stationing of law enforcement officers on our middle school and high school campuses. This constitutional amendment will not solve the very serious problem of school violence.

There are millions of people of faith in this Nation. Religion, however, is a uniquely private matter. We draw strength from our faith, but we should never attempt to impose our religious

beliefs on any other person, no matter how well-meaning our actions may be.

Ours is a great Nation, in no small way because of the truly magnificent language of our Bill of Rights which creates a separation between church and State. We should not alter that historic guarantee of religious liberty by passing the constitutional amendment presented to the House today.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, as we begin this important debate on the steps of this historic Capitol, religious leaders from all across America have gathered to voice their strong opposition to the Istook amendment, which would, for the first time in our Nation's history, amend the Bill of Rights.

People of deep faith, because of their respect for the importance of religion in their individual lives, are standing with James Madison and Thomas Jefferson and all of the evidence of human history, which proves that the best way to ruin religion is to politicize it.

If one believes that the way to protect religious liberty is to get government, the Federal Government, involved in private matters such as children's prayers with their God, allow judges to push their personal political views through the use of their offices and positions, and to actually use taxpayer dollars to fund religious organizations, if people believe that is the way to protect religious liberty, I think they are sadly mistaken.

Mr. Speaker, whether one supports or opposes the Istook amendment, and I vehemently oppose it, the fact is that this process, this rule, does a great disservice to that cherished document we call the Bill of Rights.

Whereas Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson debated this very issue for over 10 years in the Virginia legislature, the Committee on Rules last night, with many of the Members not even present, decided to send the most important issue in this country, the issue of religious freedom, to this floor with such a limited unfair rule that each of the Members of this House, both for and against Istook, will have less than 13 seconds to express their deep convictions on the important issue of religion and religious liberty.

Again, whether you are for or against the Istook amendment, I would suggest that a vote against this rule would be a vote in respect of the importance of the Bill of Rights. Whether 5 years or 50 years from now, it will set a terrible precedent to have such an important issue, an issue that we have not voted on in 27 years in this House, come to the floor after only one day of hearings in the full Committee on the Judiciary this year, and come to the floor of this House with a rule that only allows 12 to 13 seconds of debate.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to my friends on both sides of the aisle, my friends on both sides of the issue, I would urge you to search your conscience and think about the precedent we are setting when we say that we have such a cavalier respect for the Bill of Rights, and even the first amendment, and even the first 16 words of that Bill of Rights, that we think it is wise and smart to bring this amendment to the floor, prohibiting Members the opportunity to speak out from the heart of their conscience. That is wrong.

We will debate in the hours ahead why I believe and why many religious leaders believe that the Istook amendment is wrong, but, for the moment, I would urge my colleagues to cast a vote of respect for our Constitution, cast a vote of respect for the Bill of Rights, and say that none of the Members should be gagged in their opportunity to express their conscience.

If there is any right we ought to respect in this historic body, it should be our right and our responsibility as the voice for the nearly 600,000 people we represent in our respective districts to speak out for those people of our district, to speak out for the beliefs we hold deep and dear. Vote no on this rule.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would just like to clarify by reading the language in this amendment exactly what we are talking about here today. This simply says, "To secure the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience: Neither the United States nor any State shall establish any official religion, but the people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, prescribe school prayers, discriminate against religion, or deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion."

Mr. Speaker, that is all there is to it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK).

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, if the President were to say that there are grave problems within the Executive Branch, we would be wise to listen. If the Speaker were to say that there are grave problems within the Congress, we would be wise to listen. If the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court said there were problems with what that Court was doing, we would be wise to listen.

Mr. Speaker, the Chief Justice has said so. The rulings of the Supreme Court over the last 36 years have used the first amendment not to protect freedom of religion but to attack it; to

say that rather than freedom of religion, it is freedom from religion.

I am proud to say that Chief Justice William Rehnquist, as well as many other justices, has been a steady voice in dissenting from what the other justices have done. He has been a steady voice in saying that the Court is going in the wrong direction; that it is undermining our religious liberty, rather than protecting it. Because in 1962 the court began an attack that says, well, if you are on public property, other people have a right to censor you if you want to pray or otherwise express your religion. That is not freedom of religion. That is not even free speech. As so many Supreme Court justices have said over the years in dissent, their brethren have gone the wrong way.

It is incumbent upon us, Mr. Speaker, because the Supreme Court has not corrected it, it is incumbent upon us to correct it, through the only way that works. No presidential guideline makes any difference when the Supreme Court claims something is unconstitutional. No regulation can make a difference. No statute can make a difference. The only remedy left to us is the one that was established within the Constitution itself, for a constitutional amendment.

Previously, for example, the 13th amendment was one of a number of amendments that have been adopted when the Supreme Court went in the wrong direction. When the Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott decision that neither the Congress nor the States could put an end to slavery, we passed the 13th amendment. After that terrible bloody Civil War, we put an end to slavery, but it took a constitutional amendment to do it, and we followed the process that has been established to correct things when the Supreme Court goes in the wrong direction.

That is what we are doing today, because the Supreme Court in 1962 ruled that even when it was voluntary, if it was during the school day, children could not come together and say a prayer together. They ruled in 1980 that the Ten Commandments could not be posted on the wall of a public school, because the Supreme Court said children might read them and obey them. Well, in an era when we have guns and knives and drugs in school, maybe the Ten Commandments and prayer would not be as bad.

In 1985, the Supreme Court took a law from the State of Alabama that made a moment of silence permissible and said, no, that is unconstitutional because it permits silent prayer.

In 1992, the Supreme Court ruled that a prayer offered in this case by a Jewish Rabbi at a graduation ceremony was unconstitutional because, they said, it is wrong to expect children to be respectful of something with which they might disagree. Since when, Mr.

Speaker, are we teaching our children disrespect, rather than respect?

As a number of Supreme Court justices have said in dissenting from these decisions, and many of them were the narrowest decisions, 5-4 margins, as a number of them have indicated, the way to unite people is to bring them together in prayer, not to isolate one another and claim that prayer in school is somehow a threat, rather than a unifying force.

It should never be mandatory, Mr. Speaker, but it should be permitted.

□ 1100

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT).

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the rule and consideration of this resolution. We are amending the Constitution. We have only had one hearing on this amendment. There have been several hearings during this Congress on religious issues, but only one on this amendment.

Last night we were still slapping the thing together. The final version of the amendment was being drafted after the hearing on the rule itself. This would be the first amendment to the Bill of Rights. Every word is important, and here we are at the last minute still putting together the final version that we will consider on the floor today.

The First Amendment to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, has saved us from the religious strife that other countries have suffered through. We need to know exactly what this amendment would do. How is it different from our present First Amendment? What difference does it make? We should not be misled by inaccurate anecdotes and political pressure into changing the Bill of Rights.

We have heard the question about the moment of silence. Many States have moments of silence, moments for silent prayer. To direct people to pray during that moment of silence has been ruled unconstitutional, but a moment of silence has been sustained. So we ought not be misled by inaccurate anecdotes into amending the Bill of Rights for the first time in our history.

Mr. Speaker, let us protect our religious freedom that we have enjoyed for over 200 years, and let us defeat this amendment.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER).

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I never thought that an occasion would occur when I would have to rise and ask my colleagues to refrain from gutting the First Amendment to the Constitution. One would expect that after 200 years the Bill of

Rights would have garnered a little respect in Congress, but gutting the First Amendment is exactly what this bill would do today.

This religious freedom amendment is dangerous in that it breaches the constitutionally guaranteed separation of church and State, thereby reducing religious liberty and equality. Moreover, it would allow official school prayer and government funding of religious institutions.

The most tragic results of this amendment, though, is that it sows the seeds of strife and divisiveness that the Bill of Rights was designed to protect us from. Listen to the level of debate that has occurred lately.

A few weeks ago one of my colleagues rose on the floor and said that those of us who oppose this amendment would be heading likely to hell. I quote from the RECORD:

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt in my mind that there is a special place in hell for a number of Federal court judges, as I am sure there will be for Members of Congress.

This level of debate denigrates both the Bill of Rights and this institution, and it also threatens the notion of religious tolerance that has made our country unique. That is why religious groups such as the American Baptist Churches USA, the Baptist Joint Committee, the Presbyterian Church USA, the Episcopal Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, the Reform Jewish Movement, and virtually the entire Jewish community are opposed to this measure.

Proponents of this measure would have us believe that we are attacking religious expression, and that is nonsense. Students currently enjoy the right to religious expression in our Nation's public schools. They have the right to pray individually or in groups, to say grace before meals, to discuss religion with other interested students, to read religious books in their spare time, and to pray before, during, and after tests.

When James Madison and the other early American leaders drafted the First Amendment, they knew full well the capacity of the majority to subjugate the minority when it came to matters of religion. We see it today.

I have just returned from 7 days in the former Yugoslavia, where tens of thousands of people are dead because three governments with different religions decided to impose their will on people who did not believe as they did. That is the path that our Founding Fathers sought very carefully to avoid.

Amending the Constitution is not a matter to be taken lightly. The separation of church and state, and the protections enshrined in the First Amendment so that we are free to practice our religion as we wish, having to answer to no man or no government, has helped to make the United States one

of the most religiously diverse nations in this world.

Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God that he owes account to none other for his faith or worship, that the legislative powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions. I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion or,' most importantly, 'prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and State."

Mr. Speaker, I urge this body to reflect on its words and defeat this rule.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, just for clarification, one of the previous speakers said that there had not been hearings on this particular issue. There were seven hearings on the issue that is addressed by this amendment. There were 74 witnesses that were heard from at that time.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT).

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, we are going to hear a lot of things today about what this amendment does, what it says. I would encourage our colleagues to read the amendment. There is nothing in the amendment that allows funding of religious institutions. There is nothing in the amendment that establishes a church that has particular access to government monies. There is nothing in the amendment that requires anybody to participate.

What this amendment does is restore the Constitution to its practices for the first 175 years. We certainly want to look at the intent of the Founders of the Constitution; and when we look at the intent of the Founders of the Constitution, we do see that they did not want to establish a church. What we also see is that they clearly did not want to remove religion, did not want to remove God from our public discourse, from our public ceremonies, from our public institutions.

In fact, right here in this House this morning, as has been the case every day since the Congress began, we started with prayer. We started with prayer, and now we have a debate as to why we could not have prayer at high school graduations. We started with prayer, and now we have a debate as to why we could not have a prayer before a football game. We started with prayer, and now we have a debate as to why we want to not allow city councils to do that same sort of thing in their public institutions.

"In God We Trust" is emblazoned above your head, Mr. Speaker, as we debate every day in this House. We cannot go back to the writings of the people who wrote the Constitution, we cannot go back to what George Washington did as our first President, in

putting in our public discourse and our public ceremonies the clear understanding that religion and morality were cornerstones for the kind of government we wanted to have, and not see that that was their intent.

In fact, it was their intent until 1962 when the Supreme Court, on a series of decisions that were, as often as not, five-to-four. A five-to-four decision means that even the Supreme Court was not very certain as to what they were doing and wondered what the Constitution might have said. In 1962 the Supreme Court began to say these things that for 175 years we believed the Constitution to say and we believed the Constitution to allow, it no longer would allow, beginning at that time.

We had a high school class invite a Jewish Rabbi to pray at a graduation, and a student decided to sue, and suddenly prayer at high school graduation, one of the cornerstones of those ceremonies from the time we began to have high school graduation, is suddenly unconstitutional.

Many of our schools, many of our communities have chosen, as in some ways we might even say the Congress has chosen, to ignore that prohibition. I encourage we support the rule and support this amendment.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I would inquire of the time remaining on both sides, please.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) has 16½ minutes remaining. The gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. MYRICK) has 17½ minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, to the gentlewoman, I do want to acknowledge that, yes, there have been many hearings on prayer in school, but only one hearing on the Istook amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with a completely different perspective, for I believe that it is important to tell the American people what we believe. We believe in the freedom of this Nation and the right to prayer and the right to express our religious beliefs.

I am glad my colleague acknowledged that we in this House do pray. For that reason, we support the fact that Americans pray in whatever manner they so desire.

But I want my colleagues to know that the Istook amendment has nothing to do with our right to pray. It really has a lot to do with the intrusive, oppressive conferring of some particular religion on many, and that religion may not be the religion of the many.

When the flag rose and remained flying after the war in the 1800s, and the Star Spangled Banner was written, the one question asked: Was the flag still

there? The reason for that was the flag symbolized freedom, freedom of expression, freedom to believe as we so desire to believe.

The Istook amendment takes away from us our religious beliefs. It does not give them to us. For us to take away the obvious, what the First Amendment already provides, the freedom of religion, what Madison and Jefferson debated for some 10 years, we want to change in 2 or 3 hours.

I would simply ask my colleagues, Republicans and Democrats alike, this is not a partisan issue. This goes to the very underpinnings of what this country stands for. Our children can pray. Our different faiths can be expressed, whether it is Allah or God or anyone else. We have the right to pray in this Nation.

It is tragic that we take some very isolated incidences where court decisions may rule against what we would like and change the whole Constitution. Stand up for what is right. I pray that we do that.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT).

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, interesting debate. Constitution. The first Constitution allowed slavery. It treated women like property. It treated American native Indians like buffalos.

The Congress, in its wisdom, changed the wrongs of the Constitution and did so by amending it. Now the judges have determined that school prayer is prohibited under the language of the Constitution.

I submit that the Founders are rolling over in their graves, because they did want to separate church and State on a denominational basis, but they never intended to separate God and the American people.

This legal mumbo jumbo is absolutely ludicrous, because of the fact that school kids used to have the three R's of reading, writing, and arithmetic; today there are four R's: rape, rifle, and Ritalin. Ladies and gentlemen, there is a fourth R. It is called run. Run as in run for your life.

My position is very, very simple. I believe where God is omitted, then evil will be committed. Ladies and gentlemen, why is it unconstitutional for Congress to consider the opportunity to let a local school board make that decision?

The Constitution prohibits it; that is what the Supreme Court said. Fine. Change the Constitution. This is the mechanism to do it. If it is a moment of silence, fine. If it is a prayer, it should not be any denomination that is, in fact, promoted.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are several things I think must be understood here. On our bills, we say "In God We Trust". We open the session up with a prayer in the Congress. The Supreme Court opens up their session by asking

God to preserve the court and preserve the Nation. But our school boards cannot make that decision. So what we have is rape, murder, mass murder, violence, killing, fear in our schools, but they are not allowed to have a prayer. Come on now.

I can remember a debate we had where it was called political posturing to open the session of Congress with a pledge of allegiance to the flag. The motives of those who brought it forward were questioned. On all of these constitutional mumbo jumbo reasons we had these big debates. Now we have a pledge of allegiance. Quite frankly, I think we should.

Quite frankly, the Congress opens the session with a prayer, and we are a bunch of hypocrites by not allowing a local school board to make that decision. Neither are all of the decisions in the Supreme Court. In America, the judges do not govern; the American people do. The American people want to allow prayer in our schools.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS).

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to address the gentleman from Ohio in his constitutional wisdom, and I am glad he is staying here for it.

First of all, to my good friend the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT), I would like to point out to him that no Supreme Court decision ever has prevented students from praying on their own.

□ 1115

Not a single decision of any court can be cited for the contrary proposition.

Number two, in the 1962 Supreme Court case of Engel v. Vitale, which I am sure the gentleman has reviewed, it struck down only the practice of having government compose school prayer. In the Wallace case, which the gentleman may or may not be familiar with, it held, "The government may give objective instruction about religion in public schools and provide for religiously neutral moments of silence, permit students to engage in private, non-disruptive prayer during the school day, and pose no barrier to organized student-initiated religious clubs under the Equal Access act." We are not hypocrites.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT).

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, the legal decisions say that if a school board wants to have a school prayer, they are prohibited from doing so.

Mr. Speaker, I say to the Members, the judges in America do not govern, they interpret the Constitution. They interpret the law. They do that only. The people of the United States govern. When they see fit to change a constitutional mandate that has been interpreted counter to the wishes of the

American people, it is up to the people and the Congress only to make that decision.

I will say this, the gentleman is certainly more knowledgeable on all these decisions, but here is what I am saying. All those decisions the gentleman cited all add up to one thing: We do not allow for school prayer. I am saying that we should. That is what I do support.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER).

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NADLER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS).

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

I just wanted my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT), who has left the floor, to understand that nothing prohibits voluntary prayers, from school boards, courts, or anything else. I am doing this in a friendly way. I am not emotional about it. But it is about time that we learn what the law is that we want to change. I thank the gentleman for his generosity.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, this amendment, which should really be referred to as the Religious Coercion Amendment, is an assault on the first freedom which has been protected for 200 years by the First Amendment.

I am amazed at some of my conservative colleagues who do not trust the government to protect the environment or to build new schools in our communities or to regulate the railroads, but are perfectly willing to turn over to government bureaucrats the power to do everything short of actually declaring a State religion, or to involve those bureaucrats in shaping the moral and religious lives of our children.

Many supporters of this constitutional amendment have been irate at the way some schools teach American history, but they are perfectly willing to delegate to those same schools the right to guide a child's religious education.

This amendment, Mr. Speaker, makes a radical departure from our current constitutional framework. The First Amendment now prohibits any "law respecting an establishment of religion." The rewrite we have before us today would narrow that to prevent government only from establishing any official religion. Anything short of establishing an official church which favors one religion, that of the majority, over all others, would be allowed under this amendment.

The amendment says, "The people's right to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed." "The people's right," that is a collective term, not an individual right; a radical departure from our constitutional tradition.

What does it mean? It means that the people, "the people," the majority, either by referendum or through council action or action of a local legislative body, a town council, a school board, a city council, could mandate that particular religious symbols, Presbyterian in one area, Catholic in an area, Muslim in a third, Centurian in a fourth, must be prominently placed in every schoolroom, in every courtroom, and that every litigant must do his case in front of that religious symbolism, even if it offends his conscience, and every child in every classroom, likewise.

We can see evidence in the world today of the terrible harm which comes in the government meddling in religious affairs, of allowing some in the community to use the government to further their religious goals.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

Mr. PAUL. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me the time, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule. Today we are having a debate on a very serious problem that does deserve our attention. We can do this by supporting this rule.

I am in entire agreement with the authors of this amendment in their concern for the systematic attack on religious expression throughout the country. There is no doubt hostility exists, especially against conservative religious expression. It is pervasive and routinely expressed in our courts.

Those who attack religious values are, unfortunately, not doing it in the defense of constitutional liberty. Secular humanism, although equivalent to a religion, is passed off as being neutral with respect to spiritual beliefs, and yet too often used to fill the void by forced exclusion of other beliefs.

This is indeed a problem deserving our close attention, but the approach through this constitutional amendment is not the solution. I was a co-sponsor of the original version of the amendment, but after serious reconsideration, especially after the original version was changed, I now am unable to vote for it.

The basic problem is that our courts are filled with judges that have no understanding or concern for the constitutional principles of original intent, the doctrine of enumerated powers, or property rights. As long as that exists, any new amendment to the Constitution will be likewise abused.

This amendment opens the door for further abuse. Most of those who support this amendment concede that, quoting the authors of the amendment, "Because government is today found everywhere, this growth of government has dictated a shrinking of religion." This is true, so the solution should be to shrink the government, not to further involve the Federal Government on how States and school districts use their property.

This amendment further enables the Federal Government to do more mischief. The only solution is to shrink the government and raise a new generation of judges and Congressmen who understand the constitutional principles of original intent, the doctrine of enumerated powers, and property rights. If we do this, the First Amendment, freedom of religious expression, will be protected.

Another recourse, less complicated than amending the Constitution, is for Congress to use its constitutional authority to remove jurisdiction from the courts in the areas where the courts have been the most abusive of free expression. Unfortunately, this amendment encourages a government solution to the problems by allowing the Federal Government and Federal courts to instruct States and local school districts on the use of their property. This is in direct contrast to the original purpose of the Constitution, to protect against a strong central government and in support of State and local government.

Until our judges and even our Congress have a better understanding of the current Constitution and a willingness to follow it, new constitutional amendments will do little to help and will more likely make things worse.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in our country the State is not to sponsor or sanction religious exercises. Neither is it to interfere with the free exercise of religion. That is a delicate balance that the Bill of Rights has protected for over 200 years. It is a delicate balance that the Istook amendment threatens to destroy.

I want to make one point this morning, a quite simple and straightforward point: the prohibition against State-sponsored religious exercises in our country protects not only civic life but also, and more importantly, religious life. Mr. Speaker, it is no accident that a long list of religious communities and religious organizations are lined up in opposition to the Istook amendment.

Amending the First Amendment to permit the State establishment of religion is a threat to our constitutional democracy, to be sure, of which freedom from religious coercion is a cornerstone. But even more, it is a threat to religious faith and practice.

Mr. Speaker, religious liberty is not just freedom from coercion.

Religious liberty is also freedom for the leading of the spirit, freedom to follow and obey God's will. Roger Williams, colonial America's foremost proponent of religious liberty, understood that the prohibition against the establishment of religion was more about protecting the church than it was about protecting the State. Religious

freedom protects communities of believers, it protects the lonely conscience of the prophet, it protects the faithful individual.

Mr. Speaker, central to our Christian and Jewish and Muslim traditions is the notion that we stand under God's judgment, that we are not to identify our power and our program with God's will, that we are all sinners and in need of forgiveness. That is central to all of our religious traditions.

Religious faithfulness is a struggle. It is not something that we lay hold of easily or that someone in authority can achieve for us. The life of faith is a struggle for an individual and a community that cannot and must not be dictated or directed by the State. It is a struggle in which we must engage with freedom, as God gives us the light to find the right way.

That is what religious freedom is about, and it is mainly for religious reasons that we must defend the First Amendment and rebuke those who would put the State's power behind particular religious beliefs or practices. The Istook amendment threatens not only civil liberty but also religious faithfulness, and for that reason we should defeat it today.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON).

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from North Carolina for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to get back to something the previous speaker said about the Supreme Court's making a statement that they never came out against school prayer. That was not the case at all. If we look at the Engel v. Vitale case in 1962, a pertinent portion of this debate was when Engel stated, and I quote, "Neither the fact that the prayer may be denominationally neutral nor the fact that its observance on the part of the students is voluntary can serve to free it from the limitations of the establishment clause, as it might be from the free exercise clause of the First Amendment, both of which are operative against the State by virtue of the 14th Amendment."

So clearly there is a case where the Supreme Court has said that even voluntary prayer is a problem in terms of their interpretation of the Constitution. Because of that, because of their extreme approach on this, I do support this rule and the Istook amendment.

I think one of the questions, as we get bogged down here, and clearly, Mr. Speaker, this is not a black and white issue, there are some grays in this issue, and I echo the words of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL), a lot of these items boil down to the size of government, an intrusive Washington command-and-control, one-size-fits-all government approach to everything and every solution.

I still think some of these things do have to be handled on a local level. I think it does not harm society to have some local decisions on things like this.

But we do have to ask ourselves a bigger question. We can all play lawyer here today. It is clear, listening to the debate, that everybody is trying to be lofty and historical and so forth. But let us just ask ourselves some basic questions: Is society better served by having a religious society? Is it more good or more harmful to have a prayer at graduation? Is it more good or harmful to have a prayer at a football game?

□ 1130

If a child comes into school and her mother is sick and a student suggests, as the students get concerned and show concern, can they bow their heads and pray for the young lady's mom, is that harmful? I think if we look at the measure of the results of this, that it would be more helpful to have a more religious society, one that is tolerant and one that respects each other, rather than have these religion-free zones in public buildings, public institutions, whereby if we say anything that is religious, we are the perpetrator of some horrible crime, rather than somebody who is trying to take everyday life to a higher level so that we can acknowledge a Creator and a Higher Being.

I believe if we ask ourselves those questions, we are going to realize that this amendment is not going to solve all the problems; the current situation we have does not solve all the problems, but we have to continue to support religion as a country and in public.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my friends and fellow Members to support the Istook amendment.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFazio).

Mr. DEFazio. Mr. Speaker, this is a very perilous path we tread. No one knows where this will lead, this vaguely worded amendment, not even the most well-intentioned supporter. There are more unanswered questions than there are answered questions.

There is a presumption of whose religion it will be, and that presumption even goes further. It is a presumption that it will be a Christian religion, and it is a presumption on the part of many that it will be their form of Christian religion. That is not set by this. It can be any cult claiming to be a religion.

Mr. Speaker, that happened to my State. We have a 20-day voter cutoff in our State because a cult, the Rajneeshis, tried to take over a school board, and we were afraid they would bus people in from outside the State to take over that school board and impose their cult on the children of that rural town. That would be allowed under this amendment.

We will fight a pitched battle, community by community, county by county, State by State, over where the tax dollars will flow because this allows tax dollars to flow to private religious activities and institutions. And some support that. Despite the desperate straits of our public schools, some support that.

But, guess what? This amendment also in all probability allows for the first time in our history the taxing of religious institutions. Now, I think many who support the tax dollars for private religious schools will be aghast when they receive a tax bill for their previously-exempt institutions.

There are those who are proposing that somehow this is an answer to the violence in our schools. I live in Springfield, Oregon. No one is closer today to that question than I am. And those who bring forward the simplistic answer that if we only had had an established prayer in that school, a very conservative town that I live in, that we would not have had that violence, that is an insult.

Mr. Speaker, this is a complex problem which goes to many things. This is not a simple solution. It raises more problems than it answers, and it potentially threatens the stability of this Nation.

Do we want to be Bosnia? Do we want to be Northern Ireland? Do we want to be India and Pakistan and have a nuclear war over religious issues? Vote no on this amendment.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Istook amendment.

Let me say that I have been concerned in recent years that in our society there seems to be a great deal of legal pressure on our people not to express their religious convictions. And I know that some people honestly are afraid that some religion might be imposed on someone officially, and I think that is what is motivating this.

But what has really happened, the outcome of this is the nature of our society has changed in that, before, our Founding Fathers thought that the expression of religious faith was a very positive thing. This is something that worked to the benefit of our country throughout our history. It gave a solid foundation to the young people of our country because people, whether it was the President of the United States on down, we have "In God we trust" right over here in Congress. These expressions were seen as benevolent and positive things in our society.

But, in recent years, we have seen the phrase "separation of church and State," by the way, which is something that is not in our Constitution. That phrase is not in the Constitution. It is "the establishment of a religion" is the

phrase that is within the Constitution. But that phrase of "separation of church and State" has been used to justify all kinds of legal pressures and restrictions on Christians and Jews and other people of religious faith from uttering their belief.

This is wrong. This is wrong, and the only people who are being imposed upon are not people who do not believe in religion or God, but the people who are being imposed upon are the people of religious faith, whatever that faith may be.

Mr. Speaker, worse than that, we have now evolved into a society where Jesus Christ can be taken and can be put into a bottle of urine and called art and it can be subsidized with tax dollars. With people who are sincerely Christian, this is a violation of their sacred beliefs when they complain they are being told this is separation of church and State and they cannot have anything to say about that.

But we actually subsidize a tax of these people's religion while, at the same time, if somebody wants to put a manger scene in front of city hall during Christmas season, they are told, oh, no, that is separation of church and State.

The Istook amendment I think goes back to what our country is based on. It is not separation of church and State. No one wants to impose religion on someone else. What we are talking about, the basis of our country is freedom of religion. Freedom of religion, especially freedom of religious expression. And that is what the Istook amendment is all about.

We have got all of our priorities haywire here. We are now justifying the separation of religious utterances when it is a benevolent thing and has been throughout the history of our country.

Mr. Speaker, I support the Istook amendment and the rule.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the time remaining on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) has 5½ minutes remaining, and the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. MYRICK) has 4½ minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), my colleague on the Committee on Rules, for yielding me this time to stand today to oppose this rule.

Mr. Speaker, I asked for an amendment to be considered last night in the Committee on Rules because I share some of the concerns of the proponents of this amendment, although I oppose the Istook amendment. The amendment I asked for would actually go further toward what Thomas Jefferson, George Mason and James Madison had

said and used in a lot of our State Constitutions, to make sure we do have freedom of expression. But the Committee on Rules said, no, we cannot improve on this except for one case offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. Speaker, I am opposing this rule and opposing the Istook amendment. It is hard to stand up here, Mr. Speaker, to do that because my religious beliefs are really important to me and my family. We do not need to wear them out here on the floor of the House to talk about how important religion is to our family and to us individually.

I seem to remember growing up in Sunday school and in church as always part of my life and learning that we do not need to yell from the street corners our religion, that we should go into a room and pray on our own and not necessarily have to do it like we are doing it today.

So people of faith can stand up here and oppose this amendment, even though I heard in a special order the other night one of my colleagues, the gentleman from Georgia, who said there is a special place in hell for Justices and Members of Congress who oppose this. Thank goodness he is not making that decision. He is putting his place in the place of God.

That is why this amendment is wrong. We need to have religious freedom. We have it right now. The Department of Education has said we have religious freedom. My wife teaches in public school. I have given prayers at football games. We have Bible studies. We have prayer every morning in our public school around the flagpole. We have prayer in our schools. It is not the prayer that the school board wants the students to say, because that is what the Constitution never said. It is prayer that our students want on their own, that their parents provide them the guidance.

Mr. Speaker, that is why we should oppose this amendment. We have prayer in the schools right now. Let us not make it worse by the Istook amendment.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN) just mentioned about yelling from the corner about one's religious convictions. The fact is that we respect the right of people to raise their voice and shout about political things and we respect people's rights to raise their voice and shout about religious things as well.

Certainly we do not want people to get in somebody else's way, nor do we want to force somebody to participate in a chant. But I think that again demonstrates the sort of haywire priority that we have here. That, yes, people have religious convictions and they

have a right to express it, but all of a sudden there seems to be this pressure on religious people not to make these public utterances. There is nothing wrong with someone shouting out for the glory of God, if that is how they feel.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I have no problem with that. They have that right. But they do not have the right to stand up in an algebra class and do it. But they have the right to pray on their own. And so we have to have some reasonableness applied to it. We have prayer in the public schools now.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, but they do not have a right to have a little group meeting of that.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY).

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this constitutional amendment. Freedom of religion and freedom from religious coercion has been at the core of American democracy for over 200 years. I believe that the first amendment has served all of us of every religion extremely well.

The separation of church and State does not require the separation of spiritual values from secular affairs. In fact, I believe strongly that private morality and public conscience must guide the formation of our Nation's public policy. But no one individual or individual religion may be permitted to impose one set of religious beliefs on the rest of us.

The American people do not want this Congress telling them how and when to pray. In fact, this amendment is entirely unnecessary. Although the Supreme Court has upheld the separation of church and State, the Court has also clearly stated that all American citizens are free to exercise their religious beliefs in public schools.

In the words of President Clinton: Schools are not religion-free zones. Students can pray privately and individually whenever they wish. They can say grace before lunch. They can form religious clubs and those clubs can and should be treated like any other extracurricular activity. And students reading to themselves have every right to read the Bible or any other religious text they want.

So what would this amendment change? Well, it could allow public tax dollars to be spent on religious schools, shifting scarce resources from public schools and setting up competition among faiths. It would allow mandatory prayers in schools, and it could allow a local school board to endorse certain religious traditions and ignore others.

Mr. Speaker, there is a reason this amendment is opposed by most of the churches, synagogues, and religious organizations in the United States, including the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the Baptist Joint Committee, the American Jewish Committee and the Presbyterian Church of the USA.

I want to say, Mr. Speaker, as a woman of the Jewish faith, my personal religion and the right to pray is important to me and my family and that is why I oppose this amendment.

□ 1145

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

My great grandfather came to this country fleeing religious persecution in the Old World. He was a peddler in East Texas. I would like to quote from the grandson of a peddler from Arizona that some Members on the other side will recognize, the late Senator Barry Goldwater.

In 1994, when Senator Goldwater was asked about his views on a school prayer amendment, he replied,

It is a waste of time. There is nothing in the law that says people can't have a moment of silence in schools to do what they want, pray or cuss someone out.

Barry Goldwater was a very wise man. I did not agree with him on every issue. He spoke his mind and he spoke it very clearly on this fundamental issue of our Constitution and what should be done with our Constitution and what should not be done with our Constitution.

We do not need to alter the Bill of Rights. It has stood for 206 years and served this country well. It would be a mistake for us to pass the Istook amendment.

I urge my colleagues to vote no when this matter comes to the floor later today.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL).

Mr. CAMPBELL. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

The amendment that we will be debating today provides for equal treatment of discussion about religion, equal to the treatment that we give for discussion on political matters.

The First Amendment protects political speech under our Constitution. Indeed, the Supreme Court has interpreted the First Amendment as permitting students to speak on political matters even contrary to the policy of the school board. I am thinking particularly of the case of Tinker v. Des Moines during the Vietnam War. But it does not afford that same protection to students who on their own wish to discuss or raise issues about religion.

It is important under the First Amendment that we respect religion while we are not respecting an establishment of religion. The First Amend-

ment reads that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, but it goes on to point out the importance of not prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

The way that the law is today, the Supreme Court has given greater protection for political speech than it has for religious speech. Those of us who support this amendment today are not asking for any preference for religion. We are merely asking that the right of the people to express their religion be given as much protection as the right the people presently have to express their political point of view.

Those who have expressed great concern about amending the First Amendment must also be responded to. I also share that concern. But what is wrong about using the constitutional process for amending the Constitution, which we attempt to do here today?

The Supreme Court has amended the Constitution regarding the First Amendment at least 14 different times. The First Amendment says Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or abridging the freedom of speech. The Supreme Court has added, "except for speech that advocates the imminent overthrow of the United States," and "except for slander and libel," and "except for obscenity." "Except for" added by the Supreme Court is every bit as much as an amendment to the Constitution as what we propose today.

With these points in mind, I urge support of the rule and support of the amendment.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 248, nays 169, not voting 16, as follows:

[Roll No. 196]

YEAS—248

Aderholt	Bartlett	Blunt
Archer	Barton	Boehert
Armey	Bass	Boehner
Bachus	Bateman	Bonilla
Baesler	Bereuter	Bono
Baker	Berry	Brady (TX)
Ballenger	Billbray	Bryant
Barcia	Billirakis	Bunning
Barr	Bishop	Burr
Barrett (NE)	Bliley	Burton

Buyer	Hilleary	Porter
Callahan	Hobson	Portman
Calvert	Hoekstra	Pryce (OH)
Camp	Horn	Quinn
Campbell	Hostettler	Radanovich
Canady	Houghton	Rahall
Cannon	Hulshof	Ramstad
Castle	Hunter	Redmond
Chabot	Hutchinson	Regula
Chambliss	Hyde	Riggs
Chenoweth	Inglis	Riley
Christensen	Istook	Roemer
Clement	Jenkins	Rogan
Clyburn	John	Rogers
Coble	Johnson (CT)	Rohrabacher
Coburn	Johnson, Sam	Ros-Lehtinen
Collins	Jones	Roukema
Combest	Kasich	Royce
Condit	Kelly	Ryun
Cook	Kim	Salmon
Cooksey	King (NY)	Sandlin
Cox	Kingston	Sanford
Cramer	Klug	Saxton
Crane	Knollenberg	Scarborough
Crapo	Kolbe	Schaefer, Dan
Cubin	LaHood	Schaffer, Bob
Cunningham	Largent	Sensenbrenner
Danner	Latham	Sessions
Davis (VA)	LaTourette	Shadegg
Deal	Lazio	Shaw
DeLay	Leach	Shays
Diaz-Balart	Lewis (CA)	Shimkus
Dickey	Lewis (KY)	Shuster
Doolittle	Linder	Skeen
Dreier	Livingston	Skelton
Duncan	LoBiondo	Smith (MI)
Dunn	Lucas	Smith (NJ)
Ehlers	Manzullo	Smith (OR)
Ehrlich	McCollum	Smith (TX)
Emerson	McCrery	Smith, Linda
Everett	McDade	Snowbarger
Ewing	McHugh	Solomon
Foley	McInnis	Souder
Forbes	McIntosh	Spence
Fossella	McIntyre	Stearns
FWolfe	McKeon	Stenholm
Fox	Metcalfe	Stump
Franks (NJ)	Mica	Sununu
Frelinghuysen	Miller (FL)	Tanner
Gallegly	Moran (KS)	Tauzin
Ganske	Morella	Taylor (MS)
Gekas	Murtha	Taylor (NC)
Gibbons	Myrick	Thomas
Gilchrest	Nethercutt	Thornberry
Gillmor	Neumann	Thune
Gilman	Ney	Tiahrt
Goode	Northup	Traficant
Goodlatte	Norwood	Turner
Goodling	Nussle	Upton
Goss	Ortiz	Walsh
Graham	Oxley	Wamp
Granger	Packard	Watkins
Greenwood	Pappas	Watts (OK)
Gutknecht	Parker	Weldon (FL)
Hall (OH)	Paul	Weldon (PA)
Hall (TX)	Paxon	Weller
Hamilton	Pease	White
Hansen	Peterson (MN)	Whitfield
Harstert	Peterson (PA)	Wicker
Hastings (WA)	Petri	Wolf
Hayworth	Pickering	Young (AK)
Hefley	Pitts	Young (FL)
Hill	Pombo	

NAYS—169

Abercrombie	Cardin	Edwards
Ackerman	Carson	Engel
Allen	Clayton	English
Andrews	Conyers	Eshoo
Baldacci	Costello	Etheridge
Barrett (WI)	Coyne	Evans
Becerra	Cummings	Farr
Bentsen	Davis (FL)	Fattah
Berman	Davis (IL)	Fazio
Blagojevich	DeFazio	Filner
Blumenauer	DeGette	Ford
Bonior	Delahunt	Frank (MA)
Borski	DeLauro	Frost
Boswell	Deutsch	Gejdenson
Boucher	Dicks	Gephardt
Boyd	Dingell	Gordon
Brady (PA)	Dixon	Green
Brown (CA)	Doggett	Gutierrez
Brown (OH)	Dooley	Harman
Capps	Doyle	Hastings (FL)

Hefner	Markey	Rodriguez
Hilliard	Martinez	Rothman
Hinchey	Mascara	Roybal-Allard
Hinojosa	Matsui	Rush
Holden	McCarthy (MO)	Sabo
Hooley	McCarthy (NY)	Sánchez
Hoyer	McDermott	Sanders
Jackson (IL)	McHale	Sawyer
Jackson-Lee	McKinney	Schumer
(TX)	McNulty	Scott
Jefferson	Meek (FL)	Serrano
Johnson (WI)	Meeks (NY)	Sherman
Johnson, E.B.	Menendez	Sisisky
Kanjorski	Millender-	Slaughter
Kaptur	McDonald	Smith, Adam
Kennedy (MA)	Miller (CA)	Snyder
Kennedy (RI)	Minge	Stabenow
Kennelly	Mink	Stark
Kildee	Moakley	Strickland
Kilpatrick	Moran (VA)	Stupak
Kind (WI)	Nadler	Tauscher
Klecza	Neal	Thompson
Klink	Oberstar	Tierney
Kucinich	Obey	Torres
LaFalce	Olver	Towns
Lampson	Owens	Velázquez
Lantos	Pallone	Vento
Lee	Pascarell	Visclosky
Levin	Pastor	Waters
Lewis (GA)	Pelosi	Watt (NC)
Lipinski	Pickett	Waxman
Lofgren	Pomeroy	Wexler
Lowey	Poshard	Weygand
Luther	Price (NC)	Wise
Maloney (CT)	Rangel	Woolsey
Maloney (NY)	Reyes	Wynn
Manton	Rivers	Yates

NOT VOTING—16

Brown (FL)	Herger	Spratt
Clay	McGovern	Stokes
Ensign	Meehan	Talent
Fawell	Mollohan	Thurman
Furse	Payne	
Gonzalez	Skaggs	

□ 1210

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ and Messrs. BALDACCI, MEEKS of New York, and MANTON changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BAESLER changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TICKET TO WORK AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY ACT OF 1998

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The unfinished business is the question of the passage of the bill, H.R. 3433, on which further proceedings were postponed.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 410, nays 1, answered "present" 2, not voting 20, as follows:

[Roll No. 197]  
YEAS—410

Abercrombie	Baesler	Bartlett
Ackerman	Baker	Barton
Aderholt	Baldacci	Bass
Allen	Ballenger	Bateman
Andrews	Barcia	Becerra
Archer	Barr	Bentsen
Armey	Barrett (NE)	Bereuter
Bachus	Barrett (WI)	Berman

Berry	Filner	Lee
Billbray	Foley	Levin
Bilirakis	Forbes	Lewis (CA)
Bishop	Ford	Lewis (GA)
Blagojevich	Fossella	Lewis (KY)
Billey	Fowler	Linder
Blumenauer	Fox	Lipinski
Blunt	Franks (NJ)	Livingston
Boehert	Frelinghuysen	LoBlundo
Boehner	Frost	Lofgren
Bonilla	Galleghy	Lowey
Bonior	Ganske	Lucas
Bono	Gejdenson	Luther
Borski	Gephardt	Maloney (CT)
Boswell	Gibbons	Maloney (NY)
Boucher	Gilchrest	Manton
Boyd	Gillmor	Manzullo
Brady (PA)	Gilman	Markey
Brady (TX)	Goode	Martinez
Brown (CA)	Goodlatte	Mascara
Brown (FL)	Goodling	Matsui
Brown (OH)	Gordon	McCarthy (MO)
Bryant	Goss	McCarthy (NY)
Bunning	Graham	McCollum
Burr	Granger	McCrery
Burton	Green	McDermott
Buyer	Greenwood	McHale
Callahan	Gutierrez	McHugh
Calvert	Gutknecht	McInnis
Camp	Hall (OH)	McIntosh
Campbell	Hall (TX)	McIntyre
Canady	Hamilton	McKeon
Cannon	Hansen	McKinney
Capps	Harman	McNulty
Cardin	Hastert	Meek (FL)
Carson	Hastings (FL)	Menendez
Castle	Hastings (WA)	Metcalfe
Chabot	Hayworth	Mica
Chambliss	Hefley	Millender-
Chenoweth	Hefner	McDonald
Christensen	Herger	Miller (CA)
Clayton	Hill	Miller (FL)
Clement	Hilleary	Minge
Clyburn	Hilliard	Moakley
Coble	Hinchey	Moran (KS)
Corncomb	Hinojosa	Moran (VA)
Condit	Hobson	Morella
Conyers	Hoekstra	Murtha
Cook	Holden	Myrick
Cooksey	Hooley	Nadler
Costello	Horn	Neal
Cox	Hostettler	Nethercutt
Coyne	Hoyer	Neumann
Cramer	Hulshof	Ney
Crane	Hunter	Northup
Crapo	Hutchinson	Norwood
Cubin	Hyde	Nussle
Cummings	Inglis	Oberstar
Cunningham	Istook	Obey
Danner	Jackson (IL)	Olver
Davis (FL)	Jackson-Lee	Ortiz
Davis (IL)	(TX)	Oxley
Davis (VA)	Jefferson	Packard
Deal	Jenkins	Pallone
DeFazio	Johnson (CT)	Pappas
Delahunt	Johnson (WI)	Parker
DeLauro	Johnson, E. B.	Pascarell
DeLay	Johnson, Sam	Pastor
Deutsch	Jones	Paul
Diaz-Balart	Kanjorski	Paxon
Dickey	Kaptur	Pease
Dicks	Kasich	Pelosi
Dingell	Kelly	Peterson (MN)
Dixon	Kennedy (MA)	Peterson (PA)
Doggett	Kennedy (RI)	Petri
Dooley	Kennelly	Pickering
Doolittle	Kildee	Pickett
Doyle	Kilpatrick	Pitts
Dreier	Kim	Pombo
Duncan	Kind (WI)	Pomeroy
Dunn	King (NY)	Porter
Edwards	Kingston	Portman
Ehlers	Klecza	Poshard
Ehrlich	Klink	Price (NC)
Emerson	Klug	Pryce (OH)
Engel	Knollenberg	Quinn
English	Kolbe	Radanovich
Ensign	Kucinich	Rahall
Eshoo	LaFalce	Ramstad
Etheridge	LaHood	Rangel
Evans	Lampson	Redmond
Everett	Lantos	Regula
Ewing	Latham	Reyes
Farr	LaTourette	Riggs
Fattah	Lazio	Riley
Fazio	Leach	Rivers

Rodriguez	Sisisky	Tiahrt
Roemer	Skeen	Tierney
Rogan	Slaughter	Torres
Rogers	Smith (MI)	Towns
Rohrabacher	Smith (NJ)	Trafficant
Ros-Lehtinen	Smith (TX)	Turner
Rothman	Smith, Adam	Upton
Roukema	Smith, Linda	Velázquez
Roybal-Allard	Snowbarger	Vento
Royce	Snyder	Visclosky
Rush	Solomon	Walsh
Ryun	Souder	Wamp
Sabo	Spence	Waters
Salmon	Spratt	Watkins
Sánchez	Stabenow	Watt (NC)
Sanders	Stark	Watts (OK)
Sandlin	Stearns	Waxman
Sanford	Stenholm	Weldon (FL)
Sawyer	Stokes	Weldon (PA)
Saxton	Strickland	Weller
Scarborough	Stump	Wexler
Schaefer, Dan	Stupak	Weygand
Schaffer, Bob	Sununu	White
Schumer	Talent	Whitfield
Scott	Tanner	Wicker
Sensenbrenner	Tauscher	Wise
Serrano	Tauzin	Wolf
Sessions	Taylor (MS)	Woolsey
Shadegg	Taylor (NC)	Wynn
Shaw	Thomas	Yates
Shays	Thompson	Young (AK)
Sherman	Thornberry	Young (FL)
Shimkus	Thune	
Shuster	Thurman	

NAYS—1

Frank (MA)

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Mink	Owens
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NOT VOTING—20

Clay	Gonzalez	Meeks (NY)
Coburn	Houghton	Mollohan
Collins	John	Payne
DeGette	Largent	Skaggs
Fawell	McDade	Skelton
Furse	McGovern	Smith (OR)
Gekas	Meehan	

□ 1229

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read:

A bill to amend the Social Security Act to establish a Ticket to Work and Self-Sufficiency Program in the Social Security Administration to provide beneficiaries with disabilities meaningful opportunities to work, to extend Medicare coverage for such beneficiaries, and to make additional miscellaneous amendments relating to social security.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, due to my son's high school graduation I missed 2 votes earlier today. Had I been present for Roll Call 196, I would have voted "no," and on 197 I would have voted "yes."

□ 1230

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. ROTHMAN. Madam Speaker, yesterday on rollcall vote numbers 193, 194 and 195, I was detained in New Jersey attending my son's band concert. Had I been present, I would have voted

"yea" on all three of these rollcall votes.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RESTORING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 453, I call up the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 78) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States restoring religious freedom and ask for its consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. EMERSON). The joint resolution is considered read for amendment.

The text of House Joint Resolution 78 is as follows:

#### H.J. RES. 78

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of its submission for ratification:*

#### "ARTICLE—

"SECTION 1. To secure the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience: The people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed. The Government shall not require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, initiate or designate school prayers, discriminate against religion, or deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 453, the amendment recommended by the Committee on the Judiciary printed in the joint resolution is adopted.

The text of House Joint Resolution 78, as amended pursuant to House Resolution 453, is as follows:

#### H.J. RES. 78

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of its submission for ratification:*

#### "ARTICLE—

"To secure the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience: Neither the United States nor any State shall establish any official religion, but the people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, prescribe school prayers, discriminate against religion, or deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. After 2 hours of debate on the joint resolution,

as amended, it shall be in order to consider the further amendment printed in House Report 105-563 if offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) or his designee, which shall be considered read and shall be separately debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) each will now control 1 hour for debate on the joint resolution.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY).

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Joint Resolution 78.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, today the House considers House Joint Resolution 78, the Religious Freedom Constitutional Amendment, a measure which responds to the public's valid concern that certain court rulings have been hostile to religion, have erected barriers to religious expression and exercise, and have attempted to remove religious influences from the public arena.

In the past 3 years, the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary has held a total of seven hearings in Washington and across the country examining the issues that are addressed by this amendment.

We conducted hearings in Harrisonburg, Virginia; Tampa, Florida; New York City; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The subcommittee heard testimony from 74 witnesses.

The record of our hearings is clear: There is a fundamental and widespread misunderstanding of what the Constitution requires with respect to the prohibition on the government's establishment of religion. This misunderstanding is so significant and pervasive that a constitutional amendment promises to be the most effective means of providing a meaningful remedy.

Americans are a religious people, and opponents of this amendment are fond of citing church attendance statistics to support their argument that there is no problem with the free exercise of religion in America. Although the first amendment was certainly designed to protect worship in a church, temple or synagogue from governmental interference, the protection afforded by the free exercise of religion in the first amendment was intended to reach

much further than that. Yes, we are a profoundly religious country, and we do enjoy great freedom in America today, but we must not be complacent while that freedom is eroded.

Many State and Federal courts have misinterpreted the first amendment under the flawed notion that the Constitution requires a wall of separation between church and State. By the wall of separation, they do not mean that the government should not interfere with the freedom of churches and other religious organizations. We all agree with that principle. What they mean is any religious influences should be removed from the public sphere. That is what the proponents of the wall of separation contend.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist condemned the Court's reliance on the phrase "the wall of separation between church and State" and said in a dissenting opinion over a decade ago, "The greatest injury of the wall notion is its mischievous diversion of judges from the actual intentions of the drafters of the Bill of Rights. It is a metaphor based on bad history, a metaphor which has proved useless as a guide to judging. It should be frankly and explicitly abandoned."

In an effort to satisfy this extra-constitutional and extreme theory of separation of church and State, courts have confused governmental neutrality towards religion with the concept of required public secularism, thus moving toward a public arena with no mention or sign of religion at all.

The result of this distorted view of the first amendment is that, wherever government goes, religion must retreat, and in our time there are few places government does not go. Thus, religion is slowly being eliminated from more and more of our public life.

Religious liberty that can only exist in one's private home is not true religious liberty. It is far removed from the liberty the framers of the first amendment embraced.

House Joint Resolution 78 seeks to correct this fundamental problem. It reaffirms that government may not establish any official religion, and I would ask the Members to pay particular attention to that language in this amendment. This is an important part of the amendment and, unfortunately, a part that many of the critics of the amendment seem to ignore.

The amendment also prohibits the government from requiring "any person to join in prayer or other religious activity and from prescribing school prayers." These provisions, taken together, ensure that the coercive power of government will never be used to compel any Americans under any circumstances to participate in any religious activities against their will.

House Joint Resolution 78 protects the right of the people to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage or traditions on public property

and prohibits government discrimination against religion. It also forbids the denial by government of equal access to a benefit on account of religion.

All of these provisions are designed to eliminate government hostility toward religion and to recognize the historic role that religion has played in our life as a Nation.

All too often, religious Americans of all faiths find that their speech is curtailed specifically because of its religious character. Under the prevailing understanding of the first amendment in many quarters, there are scrupulous concerns to ensure that no person be exposed to any unwanted religious influence but woefully inadequate concern for the religious person whose expression of faith is not publicly tolerated.

The first amendment was designed to foster a public sphere which gave religious citizens, as Madison described, the ability to participate equally with their fellow citizens in public life without being forced to disguise their religious character and conviction.

Another form of government-sanctioned discrimination, besides that affecting speech, is the denial of benefits to religious organizations and individuals.

The benefits provision of the religious freedom amendment, greatly misrepresented by some opponents of this proposal, merely states that the government cannot use religion as a basis for preventing a qualified organization or person from receiving governmental benefits. Public programs should be open to all who meet the objective purposes of the program. Equal access does not mean equal funding. Equal access simply means receiving a fair chance.

Contrary to the claims of its critics, the religious freedom amendment does not change the first amendment. The first amendment, as written, needs no improvement. Unfortunately, however, the first amendment, as interpreted by the courts and as widely understood by many governmental officials, has strayed both with respect to the meaning of the establishment clause and the free exercise clause and the relationship between those two clauses. That is what House Joint Resolution 78 is designed to correct.

As we debate this proposal, I would submit to the Members of this House that it is important that we all recognize that people of good faith can disagree on the merits of this particular proposal. I understand that there are some people who feel very passionately that this amendment is not the right public policy, and I can respect that, although I vehemently disagree with their position. But I think it is also important that we all recognize that there is a problem that urgently demands our attention.

Now, today as we stand here in this Chamber of the House of Representa-

tives, the people's House, we stand under the words "In God We Trust." They are inscribed on the wall. I would submit to the Members of this House that, as we stand here under those words, there is a problem when students in this country are told they cannot carry their Bibles to school, and there is a problem when students in this country face the threat of being fined by a Federal judge if they mention God, so much as mention God, in a commencement speech.

Now, things like that are happening in America today. The opponents of this amendment will claim that many of the things that are happening that we find troubling can easily be corrected, but the fact of the matter is, there is a persisting pattern of these sorts of problems. We discovered that in the hearings that were conducted by this Subcommittee on the Constitution all across the country, where we heard from so many different people who told of the personal experiences where they had been subjected to discrimination simply because of their religious faith.

Now, things like this are happening in America today, and it is simply not right. It is an infringement of the free exercise of religion, and it is an injustice.

This amendment, which is before the House today, gives this House an opportunity to protect the free exercise of religion and to put an end to the injustices that are being done in the name of the first amendment. I urge my colleagues to support this proposal.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Madam Speaker, this constitutional amendment would have dire consequences if ever ratified. As a former member of the Virginia General Assembly, I take great pride in Virginia's religious freedom tradition. This country's very first religious freedom statute was drafted by Thomas Jefferson and enacted by the Virginia General Assembly in response to a failed system of government-sanctioned religious practices very similar to that which would occur if this amendment is ratified.

The mistakes made and corrected in Virginia became the foundation for the religious freedoms included in the United States Constitution, and it is because of our Bill of Rights that we have enjoyed centuries of peace, free from the religious divisions that continue to mar the lives of millions of people across the globe.

H.J. Res. 78 is touted by its supporters as a restorer of religious freedom. Nothing could be further from the truth.

First of all, we already have religious freedom. This freedom has existed for over 200 years in the form of the first amendment to the United States Con-

stitution. Unfortunately, the words that protect us from religious persecution, that is that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof, those words are under attack by this proposed amendment.

The language in the proposed amendment ends the church-State separation by allowing religious groups to be directly funded by the government. So what happens when the Catholics must compete with the Baptists for limited school funding? How much safer will society be if only people willing to practice certain religions are able to get treatment for drug addiction? Which religious groups would and would not be funded? How safer will our schools be when children begin fighting over which prayers will be said or which religious expressions should or should not take place before each class day? How much better off will churches be once they become dependent on government funding?

□ 1245

Although the answers to these questions are not at all clear, we know for sure that, if this amendment is ever ratified, the religious freedoms that protect all Americans would be transformed into a divisive manifestation of the very problems the first amendment was designed to protect us from. If the amendment is ratified, it would recklessly disrupt the religious tranquility that we have, that we have appreciated for hundreds of years.

This amendment strips the individual of his or her right to pick his or her own prayer or to practice his or her own religion without having to subject their beliefs to the manipulation or interference by arrogant majorities.

I am specifically referring to the language in the proposed amendment's first sentence. The effect of this language would be to overturn the Supreme Court cases on religious expression and schools. Nothing in this amendment would stop schools or classrooms from choosing by majority vote to actively recite certain prayers or express certain religious beliefs that are most popular in the school or classroom.

So what happens to the losers of these popularity contests? That is why the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers oppose this amendment, because of the potential disruption that will occur when 40 percent of the students are not able to express their beliefs while they are subjected to the beliefs other than their own. This amendment will not encourage religious freedom; and, in fact, it invites religious divisiveness.

Despite the assertions of this amendment's proponents, school prayer is alive and well. It is often said that, as long as there are math tests, there will be prayer in public schools. In fact,

children praying in school is not now prohibited. What is prohibited is making those who want to pray pursuant to a different religion or not pray at all to be subjected to someone else's prayer.

In fact, a broad coalition of religious and civil liberties groups, including both proponents and opponents of the Istook amendment, prepared a document entitled "Religion in the Public Schools: A Joint Statement of Current Law" to make it clear that religious expression is permitted in schools.

Madam Speaker, we should not be misled by inaccurate anecdotes. The proponents of H.J. Res. 78 often mention incidents where children are told they cannot bring bibles to school or say grace before eating lunches. These are clearly permissible under current law.

In fact, it is this kind of anecdotal evidence, of a need for a constitutional amendment, that is misleading in large part because most, if not all, of the examples used by the proponents of this amendment result from misstatements of fact or misinterpretations of current law.

That is why we need to preserve our Bill of Rights. That is why we need to join many religious groups in opposing this amendment. Those groups include the American Baptist Churches, the United Church of Christ, the National Churches of Christ, the Presbyterian Church, the Episcopal Church, the Southern Leadership Conference, and many other groups. Let us join these religious organizations to preserve religious freedom by opposing this attack on our first amendment.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Madam Speaker, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK), the sponsor of the amendment under consideration.

Mr. ISTOOK. Madam Speaker, I rise not only on behalf of myself but over 150 Members of this body who are co-sponsors of the Religious Freedom Amendment because we are tired of seeing what the Supreme Court has done to change the first amendment. We cherish the first amendment of the United States of America. It has been attacked and twisted and warped by the U.S. Supreme Court.

For some people who say, oh, all these problems can just be corrected with a phone call, before I even talk about some of the Supreme Court decisions, let me tell my colleagues the story of Zacharia Hood, a first grader in Medford, New Jersey.

He was told, because they had a reading contest in school, you get to read the story you want to, to class. He said great. He said, I want to read this story about two brothers that reunited after being apart. He wanted to read the story of the reunion of Jacob and Esau from his copy of the Beginners Bible. The story does not even mention the word God. But his teacher said, oh, hor-

rors. We have been told there is separation of church and State. You cannot read it.

This disappointed six-year-old told his parents, and they tried making these phone calls. No good. They tried going to the school and the school board. No good. They said, this is an infringement on religious liberty; we are going to exercise our right in court.

The Federal judge, just a few months ago, said, oh, no, under all these cases from the U.S. Supreme Court, the schools can tell us we cannot read a story from the Beginners Bible no matter what it says or does not say; that, rather than the first amendment, all they pay attention to is what somebody said. Oh, it is separation of church and State.

What does that mean? As the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) said, it has been condemned, using that phrase as a substitute for what the Constitution really says and was meant to say. The Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, the one that is sitting right over there in the Supreme Court chambers right now, has said that is wayward. That is wrong. That diverts people from knowing what the Constitution really is and what it is supposed to be.

Yet, that Supreme Court, with him dissenting and with a number of other judges dissenting, has embarked upon a pattern of attacking people and saying, if we are trying to express a prayer, same way we started Congress, but if we are trying to express a prayer on public property, we are going to be limited. We are going to be restricted.

Other things, hey, do what we want. They protected Nazi Swastikas on public property. They have protected burning crosses. Supreme Court decisions.

But in 1962, they said, even when it is voluntary, for children during the school day to pray together is against the Constitution.

In 1980, they said, if the 10 Commandments is posted on the wall of a school, it is unconstitutional, because students might read them and might obey them. Imagine, in an era when guns, knives, and drugs are common in public schools, we are told the 10 Commandments is not welcome if not permitted.

In 1985, the law from the State of Alabama said we can have a moment of silence; and one of the many purposes to which you can apply this, if we choose, is silent prayer. The Supreme Court said, nope, that is unconstitutional to permit silent prayer.

In 1992, they said, to have a minister, in this case it was a Jewish Rabbi, to come and speak at a school graduation was unconstitutional because there might be some students there that would disagree with the prayer, and they would not want to be expected to be respectful with something with which they disagree. That is what the Supreme Court said; fortunately, not all of them.

What we are doing today in the Religious Freedom Amendment is taking what the justices who disagreed with the rest of them, taking what Supreme Court justices said ought to be the policy, what the intent was of the Founding Fathers, and we have put that into the Religious Freedom Amendment.

As in several of these cases I have cited, they were 5/4 decisions. One of them was the graduation prayer case. I want to read what four Supreme Court justices wrote about prayer in this case, which was *Lee v. Weisman* (1992).

Justices Rehnquist, Scalia, White, and Thomas wrote this about the proper interpretation of the first amendment, had the Supreme Court not gone awry. They said, "Nothing, absolutely nothing, is so inclined to foster among religious believers of various faiths a toleration, no, an affection for one another than voluntarily joining in prayer together to the God whom they all worship and seek. Needless to say, no one should be compelled to do that. But it is a shame to deprive our public culture of the opportunity and, indeed, the encouragement for people to do it voluntarily. The Baptist or Catholic who heard and joined in the simple and inspiring prayers of Rabbi Gutterman was inoculated from religious bigotry and prejudice in a manner that cannot be replicated. To deprive our society of that important unifying mechanism in order to spare the nonbeliever what seems to be the minimal inconvenience of standing or even sitting in respectful nonparticipation is senseless."

That is what we say in the Religious Freedom Amendment: It is senseless to say that everyone else must be censored and silenced because someone chooses to be intolerant. Prayer is not divisive. Prayer is unifying. What is divisive is for people to teach that we should not respect the prayer of another person or that we should not respect prayer in general. If you teach your children that, shame on you. But if we want people to be united, give them the chance to come together and express things positively.

The Religious Freedom Amendment does that. No compulsion. Government cannot dictate anything. Government cannot say we must pray. Government cannot tell us what our prayer must be. But government has to get out of the censorship business.

The Pledge of Allegiance is the proper standard. The Supreme Court has ruled, in the late 1940s, no one can be compelled to say the Pledge of Allegiance. I agree. But they did not permit someone who did not want to say it to censor and stop the rest of the students in that classroom who did want to join together.

That is the proper standard for prayer in public schools. If we want to do it, it is permitted. If we do not want to, we do not have to. But we do not have the right to shut people up and censor

them just because we choose to be thin-skinned and intolerant when someone else is trying to express their faith.

I urge support of this amendment.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield as much time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Istook resolution because I cherish the first amendment.

Under the First Amendment, students and citizens are not prohibited from the opportunity for religious expression. Students are free to pray privately or at school. Constitutional protections now are sensitive both to the needs of those who practice various religions, and to those who choose to remain silent. It should be quite telling that scores of religious organizations are strongly opposed to this legislation.

First amendment protections on expression of religious beliefs are available, have served our country well for many years and are appropriate to allow religious expression to thrive without improper government interference. We have not had to be worried about government favoritism of a particular religion or of conflict between religious organizations for government resources. This legislation would change all that.

This amendment is an extreme attempt to dismantle the protections so carefully drawn between church and state. I urge my colleagues to protect the religious freedom of all in our nation and oppose this unnecessary harmful legislation.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPs).

Mrs. CAPPs. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution.

Today, I speak as the product of two generations of Lutheran clergy and as an active member of my congregation. I speak also as a life partner of your former colleague, Walter Capps, a professor of religious studies for over 30 years at the University of California.

Last year, my husband, Walter, made a strong statement in opposition to this legislation; and I quote him in part from the statement. He said, "I believe I understand what the framers of this amendment have in mind, but I truly believe that the consequences of what this amendment does will place religion not in freedom but in bondage and under great threat. If we imperil religion in this country, we undermine indispensable articles of faith. Indeed, we commit grave injustices to the life of the human spirit."

As a school nurse for over 20 years, my concern is what this bill would do in our schools. For example, it would permit students to use the school intercom to lead captive classroom audiences in prayer, creating a host of troubling questions, such as whose prayer will be prayed?

I firmly support the current constitutionally protected role of religion in our schools. Students can now pray and

read the Bible privately, say grace at lunch, distribute religious materials to their friends, and join voluntary religious clubs.

The Religious Freedom Amendment would go much further and turn public schools into arenas of religious coercion and conflict. In short, the Istook amendment is unneeded and would harm religious liberty in America. It is contrary to the heritage of religious freedom in this country.

I urge a "no" vote on this bill.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES).

Mr. JONES. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of the Religious Freedom Amendment, and I commend my good friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) for introducing this important legislation.

America was founded on Judeo-Christian principles, and the Founding Fathers, therefore, took steps to ensure that the individual's freedom of religion would always be protected. Unfortunately, recent trends have infringed on this important freedom, and children and adults nationwide are finding that their rights have been suppressed.

□ 1300

I think that the Founding Fathers would be sorely disappointed. Today we have the opportunity to ensure that Americans are once again able to freely express their religious beliefs by passing the Religious Freedom Amendment. The amendment does not infringe on anyone's rights. It simply protects the individual's right to pray and to express his or her religious belief. In my opinion, it is the key to restoring true religious freedom in America.

In closing, please allow me to share an excerpt from a 1995 article by Jeff Jacoby about the Founding Fathers' sentiments on religion and freedom:

In linking religion to American liberty, Adams and Jefferson were not simply bowing to the political correctness of their time, or verbalizing empty sentiment that no one was expected to take seriously. They were articulating a core principle of American nationhood: Religious faith, and the civic virtues it gives rise to, is as indispensable to a democratic republic as freedom of speech or the right to own property. Religion can survive in the absence of freedom, but freedom without religion is dangerous and unstable.

I urge my colleagues to remember the wisdom and wishes of our Founding Fathers, and to take steps to ensure that free expression of religion once again reigns in America. Support the Religious Freedom Amendment.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER).

Mr. WEXLER. Madam Speaker, I rise with great trepidation to oppose a bill or a resolution that purports to restore religious freedom, but this bill does nothing of the sort.

If I thought for one moment, one moment, that thousands of American teenagers, because of a 15-second or a 30-second school-sponsored prayer, were going to stop taking drugs or stop being involved in teen relationships or stop using alcohol, I might vote for this bill.

If I thought for one moment that a 2-minute prayer exercise at a commencement program is going to take guns out of the hands of kids across America, I might just vote for this.

If I even thought that thousands of kids in America would come home after this school-sponsored prayer, come home and simply hug their mother or hug their father and say, "Mom, I honor you," just like the Ten Commandments say, I just might vote for this.

But let us really think, outside of the constitutional context, what will really happen to children across America? Let us think about those thin-skinned children that the sponsor spoke of, that courageous young child that will be in a high school football game after this one-size-fits-all prayer is said by the majority will of the students, and since when is our First Amendment determined by majority will? There is no such thing as majority will built into the First Amendment. But that is what we will have.

What will that young, courageous child be subjected to, that thin-skinned child? They will be humiliated. They will be scorned. In the worst-case scenario, they will be beaten up and involved in fights. Why? Because they had the courageousness of their convictions to say that one of the most beautiful things about being an American is that no matter how powerful or influential a person or a group is, you cannot tell me how to pray, and you also cannot tell me to sit down or shut up, and do it respectfully, while somebody else tells me how they are going to pray at their school, at their commencement.

I love being an American. I cherish being an American, because as an American we have an opportunity to say that we and our family will learn religion the way our family wants it to be learned. We have an opportunity to pray or not pray the way our families have prayed for thousands of years, because of a thing called the Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights is not determined by the majority, it is not determined by a political whim, it is determined by the greatness of our Founders; that little children will have the opportunity to stand and pray as they choose, without consideration of whether the school said they sponsored it or not sponsored it, and without the consideration of whether they happen to be in the majority or the minority.

Do not, do not change the Bill of Rights. Do not change the First

Amendment. It is one of the things that makes this country so great, and which most Americans cherish until they will have the opportunity not to, if this amendment were in some way passed today.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the majority leader.

Mr. ARMEY. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Madam Speaker, I want to first compliment my friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK). The gentleman has spent so many long hours, so many days working on this, and working with so many people, constitutional scholars and others. I want to also thank the committee for their hard work.

This is a good piece of legislation. For 150 years we in this Nation understood and we practiced a restraint of government against the pattern that we had seen, our Founding Fathers had seen and found aberrant in so many other cases where governments imposed religion on people.

Our Founding Fathers understood that the role of the government in this right, as in all other human rights, was to recognize and honor and appreciate that these rights are given to man by God Almighty, and that it is the role of the State to protect those rights.

But beginning in the fifties and then in the sixties, we saw what anybody that had any common sense understanding of personal liberty and religious conviction would understand to be bizarre decisions made in the courts, and sometimes, in fact, in regulations by the Federal Government.

For example, in San Francisco, after 63 years, a cross that had stood in a public place was declared unconstitutional, while in nearby San Jose, \$400,000 of taxpayers' money was used to erect a statue to an ancient Aztec God.

In April last year a minister was arrested by police for praying on the steps of the Supreme Court. In 1988, a South Carolina man was told by his county government to stop his weekly Bible study in his own home because it violated zoning ordinances.

Last year, a Florida student was suspended for handing out religious literature before and after school hours. Two students in Texas were told by their principal they could not wear their rosaries, because he thought it meant they were part of a gang; and maybe they were, part of God's gang. But rosaries?

An elementary student received a zero because she wrote a thesis on her hero, and her hero happened to be Jesus, and that offended somebody. A district judge was told by another court that he could not display the Ten Commandments in his courtroom. And

in Stowe, Ohio, recently, a court ordered a cross removed from its seal, as had happened in Edmond, Oklahoma. It took a congressional action to block proposed Federal regulations which would have regulated what on-the-job workers could or could not mention about religion.

Nobody, nobody with any common sense can believe that it is the role and the function or legitimately acceptable by agencies or courts of the Federal Government to impede people's ability to practice their faith in their home, in their school, in their job, as long as they do so freely and voluntarily. That is what this is about. It is about respect. It is about respect for any person of any faith in this Nation to be protected, and their right and their ability to express that faith.

We protect the American people in many ways, in many ways that are important to us: our fortunes, our families, our health, our safety, our security, our nourishment. Is not our faith, each and every one of us, individually, separately, and in our own way, as important a dimension of our life as our food, shelter, clothing, nourishment, health?

Does this government not have even more so a sacred responsibility to protect the practice of religion, and to restrain itself from prurient impulses, derived out of thinking that can be called nothing other than sophistry, to repress people's practice of their faith? It is time we set this straight. In doing so, we will have the ability to understand the faith of our Founding Fathers, the decency to respect it, and the courage to require it for our children.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN).

Mr. WYNN. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Virginia for yielding time to me.

Madam Speaker, I rise today to oppose this amendment. I recognize that in opposing this amendment, that there are good intentions on both sides.

I am the grandson of the chairman of the deacon board, and I strongly believe in prayer. This is the graduation season. I have spoken to a lot of students about the importance of spirituality and faith in their lives. But the fact remains that despite its good intentions, this amendment will not work, and will in fact lead to an infringement on the rights of others.

I had the opportunity to discuss this amendment with the sponsor, who is very sincere and well-intentioned. But when we got to the fine points of how this would be implemented, when we got away from the general language we all agree on, we came down to some fundamental questions, questions such as who decides on what day who gets to pray for how long, and who gets a turn? What about the satanists? Do they get

a turn? Personally, I do not think I should be subjected to that, nor should my child be subjected to that.

This is not philosophy. This is not a question of exposing people to other philosophies. This is religion. Religion is a very personal, perhaps the most personal of all rights and all beliefs. People have the right to protect that and not be exposed. They have the right not to hear or be forced to hear beliefs with which they disagree. This is not an academic exercise. This is religion, this is faith.

We have in our current system the ability to pray in schools, not just because of math exams. We have the right to pray before school, during lunchtimes, after school. The Department of Education has issued regulations making it clear that students can say grace, students can meet in religious groups, students can use all school facilities to exercise their religious rights, like any other club or group. There are over 10,000 religious clubs in America, and I think that is a good thing. I think they ought to exercise their rights on school property.

But as we used to say when I was in law school, the exercise of your right stops at my doorstep. I do not believe we should have a system that infringes on my rights so you can exercise your rights. I urge us to reject this amendment. It is well-intentioned, but it is wrong and it is unworkable.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. RILEY).

Mr. RILEY. Madam Speaker, a government that silences its people and denies them their religious beliefs should be considered nothing less than oppressive. We would expect this behavior from a nation where freedom is neither respected nor revered. We would expect it in a nation where the Almighty is the state and faith is a dirty word. However, we would never expect this in the United States.

Nevertheless, with increasing hostility and insensitivity, our courts have systematically stripped us of our First Amendment right to the basic and fundamental right of religious expression. It is time we reversed this trend of suppressing religious expression. It is time we pass a new constitutional amendment that retains and strengthens the Constitution's original intent.

Government should neither compel nor control religious expression. We must pass this amendment so no other generation will ever be deprived of its constitutional right of religious expression due to some extreme and overly zealous Supreme Court justices.

Mr. Speaker, a 5 to 4 majority in today's court should never overrule 220 years of constitutional authority. If this amendment passes, it never will again.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Madam Speaker, I would respond to a couple things that have been said. Several anecdotes have been given, and I think we need to respond to them a little as we go.

One suggested that a student could not read the Bible in class. The court held in that case that the student could read the Bible all he wanted, but could not proselytize religion to a captive audience. It also concerned itself with what would happen if other students wanted to practice the same freedom in religions that their parents were not interested in having them listen to.

□ 1315

So that was the holding in that case. Not that they could not read the Bible, but they could not read it to a captive audience and they did not want other religions being given the same, all religions including Satanism and everything else, being given the same freedom.

Also, the F that was received because someone wrote on the topic of Jesus Christ, both the Federal court and appeals court found that the F was not because of the religious discrimination but, quote, her refusal to comply with the requirements of the teacher, including changing her paper topic without permission and choosing a topic which she was already familiar with, and the assignment was to do something they were not already familiar with.

The first amendment already protects the student's right to address religious topics in homework if relevant and otherwise complying with the assignment.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Madam Speaker, for more than 200 years the Bill of Rights has protected our liberties and has served as an example to the world of how democracy can work. The United States is the most religiously diverse and the most religious Nation in the world.

Fifty percent of Americans go to church at least once a week or more. Our religiosity, our religious quality makes us a strong Nation. The separation of church and State spelled out so eloquently in the Bill of Rights by our Founding Fathers has allowed people with very, very diverse views to live together in peace and to flourish for hundreds of years. But now for the first time in our Nation's history we have an amendment that would change the Bill of Rights.

Children can pray in school right now any time they like, so long as the prayer is not organized by the school. They can hold a prayer group, a Bible study class during lunch, recess or study hall or in a classroom at the end of the day. They can close their eyes and they can

pray silently right at their desk or any time that they wish. And, yes, they can even pray before a math test.

There are Bible clubs and prayer clubs all over this country. The Istook amendment would jeopardize that freedom and dangerously politicize religion. This amendment would, for the first time in our Nation's history, allow for government-sponsored religion. It would allow for the imposition of government into our citizen's private religious beliefs. It would allow town councils to set an official prayer. It would allow government to fund religious activities.

That is why we have such a broad coalition of mainstream religious groups who oppose this amendment: The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; the Episcopal Church; the United Church of Christ; the United Methodist Church; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; the Religious Action Center of Reformed Judaism, and many others.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support religious freedom. Support the flourishing of religion in America in the proud tradition fostered by the first amendment. Support the Bill of Rights and vote against the Istook amendment.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Joint Resolution 78, the Religious Freedom Amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK). I would like to commend the gentleman for offering this much-needed constitutional amendment.

Madam Speaker, in the last few decades courts throughout the United States have twisted the traditional understanding of the first amendment to require the government to favor the nonreligious over the religious. The courts have pitted the Constitution's establishment clause against the free exercise clause rather than reading them as equal parts of the same first amendment. This misinterpretation has led to the government, whether it be through teachers, judges or public officials, placing barriers on all types of religious expression.

Abusive courts are using the first amendment as the club to drive anything with even the slightest religious overtone out of the public sphere. Religious expression now enjoys no more protection in our culture than obscenity or libel. According to the courts, flag burning is protected by the first amendment, pornography is protected by the first amendment, but posting the Ten Commandments on a public school wall is not.

Madam Speaker, where is the common sense? Religious expression, the one form of expression specifically carved out for protection by the first amendment, is the one form of expres-

sion under the heaviest attack. We clearly have a problem in this country when children are told they cannot sing Christmas carols or Chanukkah songs at school, when students in our schools are not allowed to have open prayers, even observe moments of silence.

The Religious Freedom Amendment does not amend the first amendment, it restores it. This amendment merely restates the understanding of our Founding Fathers and the vast majority of the American people today that government should protect the religious freedom of its citizens, not infringe upon it.

The Religious Freedom Amendment protects the rights of Americans to express their religious views in the same way that Americans currently enjoy the right to express nonreligious views. It does not permit the government to compel prayer to occur or to compel participation in religious activities. It simply permits prayer or other religious activity to occur on a voluntary basis among those individuals who choose to participate.

Madam Speaker, as Americans, we should encourage the open expression of our many religious backgrounds and the knowledge and tolerance that can be gained from the sharing of our religious histories. We should once again embrace our Nation's diverse religious heritage, not reject it.

I urge my colleagues to vote in support of this important amendment.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds to respond to one of the things that was said.

Madam Speaker, in "*Wallace v. Jaffree*" the Court held that the government may give objective instruction about religion in public schools and provide for religiously neutral moments of silence, permit students to engage in private, nondisruptive prayer during the school day, and impose no barrier to organized, student-initiated religious clubs under the Equal Access Act. That is a 1985 decision.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON).

Ms. CARSON. Madam Speaker, I need no sanction from the United States Congress to confirm my abiding faith and do not need congressional authority to pray when and where I desire.

The unanimous Declaration of Independence of July 1776 says that when in the course of human events, to paraphrase it, it becomes necessary to exercise a vote of solemn conscience to uphold and defend the Constitution, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires a declaration of the causes which impel the stand, that vote, in the service of the oath of this high office of our Congress. Our vote to uphold what our forefathers so eloquently wrote, that Congress shall

make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

These are the very first words of the very first change of the fundamental document at the root, the base of our scheme of government: the first amendment to the United States Constitution.

Much has been said in support of this proposal to amend, that it will redress and resolve a crisis endangering religious freedom. It is also urged that our moral decline or even school gun violence will be arrested by amending the Constitution. Yet crisis often helps faith to flower. In this time of asserted crises our citizen of all walks of life are everywhere engaged in religious pursuits, praying, worshipping, building churches, helping those less fortunate to find comfort and faith and nourishment.

The crisis that was the life of cruel deprivation suffered by so many who worked so hard and gave so much to make America so great worked wonders in the creation of our Nation, and religious worship survived and came to flourish.

There is written in the book of Matthew:

But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou has shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

Mother Teresa was once quoted as saying that,

Prayer is needed for children. Children need to learn to pray, and they need to have their parents pray with them.

Madam Speaker, I recognize that the vote that we cast here today, the way we vote today will come under rigid political scrutiny. I commend those who, like Paul, remain unmovable and unshakable in our abounding belief in the Constitution as it now stands.

I will cast my vote to uphold the Constitution as it now stands. I would encourage my colleagues to do likewise.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PITTS).

Mr. PITTS. Madam Speaker, first of all, I want to thank Mr. ISTOOK for his leadership on this issue; and I want to commend him for being willing to change his proposal from last session. He has put some new safeguards in there. It sounds as if some of the Members are arguing against his proposal from last session and that they have not read this one.

Frankly, it is quite unfortunate that we must even have this debate today here in America, the most free country of the world. Yet it has come to the point that a primary aspect of our freedom, our right to practice the religion of our choice, is no longer afforded to everyone.

We are talking here about free speech protection for students; and we are

talking about student-initiated, not teacher-initiated, not government, not school-sponsored prayer, but voluntary, student-initiated right to free religious speech. Just as they have protection on political speech or philosophical speech, they should have the right to the protection for religious speech.

What we have proclaimed throughout the world now must be practiced here in the United States. Madam Speaker, the Religious Freedom Amendment is needed today to correct and clarify 36 years of Supreme Court decisions which have warped the plain and simple meaning, original meaning, of the Constitution as far as religious rights being protected under the first amendment are concerned.

The Religious Freedom Amendment simply states that individuals in this land have a constitutional right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of their conscience. It states specifically, and I quote, "neither the United States nor any State shall establish any official religion," end quote. Yet although the United States cannot establish an official religion, neither should it prevent its people from this free exercise; and that is why people of all faiths can support this amendment.

This amendment would in no way infringe on an individual's rights to pray or not to pray. The amendment would, however, support the opportunity that people in this country have to practice their beliefs and even to recognize their religious heritage or traditions on public property.

Even though the Religious Freedom Amendment allows students to initiate school prayer explicitly, it does not permit the government or its agents to dictate that a prayer be given or dictate any contents of a prayer. Schools should be able to simply permit prayer, voluntary prayer, to occur, much like that which is practiced in this body, right here in this Chamber.

The Religious Freedom Amendment follows the same standard which the Supreme Court applied to the Pledge of Allegiance. That is, no student can be compelled to take part, but those who do not want to participate are not permitted to censure and silence those who do.

Madam Speaker, this goes to the heart of the first amendment rights. It goes to the heart of who we are as a people in America. We are, after all, one nation under God.

Therefore, Madam Speaker, I urge the Members to support this amendment which would practice freedom of religion, not freedom from religion.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HOSTETTLER).

Mr. HOSTETTLER. Madam Speaker, I rise in reluctant opposition to the amendment, and I thank the gen-

tleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) for yielding me this time.

Madam Speaker, I have two principal objections.

First of all, this amendment legitimizes the Supreme Court's application of the establishment clause of the first amendment to the States.

I should note that it was not applicable to the States from 1791 through 1947. In fact, many States had established religion at our Nation's founding. Massachusetts, for example, paid the salaries of the Congregational ministers in that State until 1833, 42 years after the ratification of the first amendment.

Indeed, it was proposed but rejected by Congress to directly apply the religious clauses of the first amendment to the States.

In 1876, 8 years after ratification of the 14th amendment, Congress considered a constitutional amendment introduced by Senator James Blaine of Maine. The Blaine amendment read, quote, "no State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," end quote. This amendment was debated at length and defeated in the Senate.

Madam Speaker, if this amendment is ratified, our States will forever lose their ability to define the appropriate level of public expression of religion.

My second objection to the amendment is in its apparent definition of "establishment." The language of the RFA suggests that any action beyond "acknowledgment" or "recognition" of God may be in violation of establishment.

□ 1330

Indeed, the entire amendment is prefaced on the mere right to "acknowledge." Does this mean that 30 years from now we will be told by the Supreme Court that mentioning the Bible or wearing a cross or crossing oneself is prohibited by the RFA because it goes beyond acknowledgment and into the particular? Does this mean that school prayers which go beyond simple recognition will be forbidden? What about worship?

Time will tell. Or maybe, I should say, a future Supreme Court will tell. The First Amendment is not the problem. The Constitution is not broken. I do not believe that the RFA will restore true religious freedom in America today.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Virginia for yielding me the time.

I support the religious freedom amendment, and I thank my friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma, for introducing the legislation. For 200 years our Constitution was interpreted as allowing for the free expression of religion. It was not until 1962 that a liberal

Supreme Court changed Thomas Jefferson's meaning of the wall of separation between church and State.

The right to free speech is one of the most highly revered rights in our Constitution, but the Constitution does not protect freedom from religion. It guards against having one religion imposed on us all. The drafters of the First Amendment did not intend to bar religious speech and actions. This amendment requires that those who express their religious beliefs receive the same treatment as those who express nonreligious views.

For instance, it will prohibit discrimination against student religious groups and provide them the same opportunities nonreligious groups now enjoy. This amendment will allow public prayers to be offered but it will not require any student to participate. A single student will no longer be able to silence the prayers of others.

I urge my colleagues to support the religious freedom amendment.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN. Madam Speaker, I thank my colleague from Virginia for yielding time to me.

I rise in opposition to the Istook amendment. It is uncomfortable to be opposing it because I think a lot of Members on both sides of the aisle, on both sides of this issue, feel uncomfortable in talking about prayer because prayer has often been such a private matter. I believe in the power of prayer and I know it works, and that is why it is uncomfortable to be opposing it because I worry, just like my colleague from Indiana, that the Istook amendment goes much further and does things that maybe they do not realize.

Frankly, we already have prayer in our schools. My district, I have a number of public school districts in my district and my wife is a high school teacher. She has been teaching since 1969. She teaches math. And in the last 3 years, ever since the Department of Education sent out their guidelines, "Dear Superintendent," I have this here, if there is a school board member or administrator that is watching today or if some Members want this, they need to ask the Department of Education, August 10, 1995, where it takes the guidelines from the court opinions and where we do have prayer in our schools.

At my wife's high school, Aldine High School, there is Bible study for teachers on their own time. It is voluntary. In the mornings, around the flag pole, that is one of those 10,000 at my wife's high school, 10,000 student groups around the country have the ability to pray every morning voluntarily. There is not an administrator, there is not a teacher there, but it is organized.

I have been honored for a number of years to give prayers at our football

games because in the district my kids went to school in, we have four high schools. Obviously, in Texas football is important so we obviously pray for a win. But I have been honored to do. We have prayer at our schools. I worry the Istook amendment goes much further than we want.

The Washington Post on May 7, an article talked about in public schools, religion thrives. We have religious expression in the public schools. That is why it is so important that we defeat the Istook amendment today.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, could the Chair advise us of the time remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. EMERSON). The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE) has 29½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) has 38 minutes remaining.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Madam Speaker, religion is important to every single Member in this House. I think that this is a real healthy debate because Members on both sides of the issue have concerns.

My friend, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), I would say that when it comes to not shying away from being religious or right, the Black Caucus, regardless if we agree on fiscal issues or not, always stand out in front for their beliefs. I laud especially the Black Caucus. For that they take second to no one in this body. I think because of those reasons and those concerns, I think this is a healthy debate.

But there has been, my concern is that there have been abuses. My wife is a principal in an elementary school. I do not think it is wrong to be able to have a Christmas tree at Christmas, but at the same time I do not think it is wrong to celebrate Hanukkah or any other religion.

When I was dean of a college, one of my staff members, his name was Mostafa Arab, he was on the Shah's Gold Cup soccer team, came to me and said, "Can I pray to my God at the school?" And his God happened to be Allah. I said absolutely. Would I want him to conduct lessons in the Koran? No. But if he wanted to offer a prayer prior to an event, I would say yes.

Maybe that is why this is so much of a problem, is that people do not know what is yes, what is no. But there have been abuses. I support the Istook amendment because I think it clarifies our position. Let us clear up the abuses and support the freedom of religion.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

Mr. BENTSEN. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to this proposed constitutional amendment, which is in the guise of expanding religious freedom

but will actually narrow religious freedom for all Americans.

First, there is simply no need for this legislation because the First Amendment to the Constitution already protects religious freedom and expression, including in our public schools and public institutions. But I think more importantly I am in some respects offended by what this amendment seeks to do.

I deeply value the role that religious and moral beliefs have in shaping the history of this Nation and they continue to have today. As a person of faith I personally believe that it is my obligation and right to pass on these beliefs to my children as I see fit, and as do millions of parents across the country.

But I abhor the belief that the State should usurp my authority as a parent to make such a choice, and that is exactly where this amendment is headed. I am offended by those who would seek to impose their will on my children absent my consent. Each of us is less free when a government is given the power to intrude upon this right.

I oppose the amendment, and hope my colleagues would do the same.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Speaker, I appreciate being given this opportunity to talk on this very important issue. Essentially stripped of all the verbiage, this amendment seeks a couple of things: basically to permit and to guarantee a right to pray in schools and, secondly, to afford equality of treatment between faith-based social service providers and treat them the same as secular ones.

So reduced to its simplest terms, this amendment provides more free speech by removing prayer in a public space from the list of constitutionally forbidden conduct. It recognizes the value to our society, as the founders and framers did, of religiously-based providers of social services.

So it expands free speech. It does not narrow it. It restores free speech to the original dimensions that we find in the Declaration of Independence, where God is mentioned four times. That must drive some people crazy when they go by the Archives, knowing that in that building is the Declaration of Independence, our country's birth certificate, that talks about the Creator and nature and nature's God in four different places. It certainly would not pass muster with the Supreme Court today.

So this expands free speech and seeks to correct constitutional distortions that have crept into our jurisprudence as a result of a series of misbegotten court decisions.

Now, our Nation, we all agree, was founded by people searching for freedom. The First Amendment, properly

interpreted, guarantees the free exercise of religion and at the same time prohibits the government from establishing a religion or showing any preference toward any sect or particular religious faith. The aggressive secularism that now constitutes our establishment was never intended by those who drafted and who ratified our Constitution.

It is unfortunate that we must amend the Constitution to repair the damage done to our liberties by foolish and ill-considered interpretations of the Constitution by the Supreme Court, but this is the situation we find ourselves in today. Basic liberties are being infringed because of judicial wrong-headedness and, frankly, secularist bias.

Today we must seek to restore the equality and genuine neutrality with respect to religion that inspired our founders and framers. Neutrality towards religion, not hostility, is the ideal we seek. That is what the Religious Freedom Amendment is intended to repair.

This amendment preaches more than mere tolerance. It says equal protection of the law applies to religious expression with the same force as it does to secular expression. In a word, it preaches equality.

This is not a perfect vehicle, but it makes a statement that I share and am proud to associate myself with.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. WISE).

Mr. WISE. Madam Speaker, I do not question the sincerity of anyone on either side of this issue because people of faith are on both sides of this issue.

I believe in prayer. I believe in God. I believe in the importance of prayer. But I do not believe that the best thing to do is to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Can children pray in school? They are praying every day. They can pray quietly or silently at any time. Bow your head right now, if you want, and say a prayer to your Lord. They can say grace. They can go to a prayer club like thousands are now in schools.

Madam Speaker, my faith, I want to get personal for a minute, comes from my heart. I seek, and I know many do, God in many ways, and we each find him in our own way through our parents, through our churches, through our community groups, through our pain, through our joy, through our many errors. That is how we find God. I take comfort in Matthew, Chapter 6 and Verse 6, "and when thou prayest, pray to thy father in private and he shall hear you." I think those are important words because that is the prayer that the Lord hears.

Madam Speaker, I have great respect for everyone in this Chamber, men and women devoted to their government and to doing right. But with all due re-

spect, I want this Chamber writing laws, I want us writing budgets, I want us writing resolutions. I do not want politicians writing my children's prayers. Let my children find God as we all must find God, through ourselves and our churches and our communities and our parents and our upbringings and our many experiences.

I urge a "no" vote on this amendment.

□ 1345

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this amendment. It is both unwise and unnecessary.

We have heard time and time again anecdotal evidence from the proponents of this amendment. That evidence only highlights the need to set the record straight as far as what the establishment clause currently allows in the United States Constitution.

There were hearings held on this issue as identified in the committee report. One of them was held in my hometown of Tampa in which some children were under the misunderstanding they could not carry their Bibles to school, which of course is incorrect.

Our focus here should be on educating principals, teachers, parents and students about what rights they currently enjoy to protect their religious freedom in schools. The United States Department of Education has issued guidelines which clearly state that students have the opportunity to voluntarily pray privately and individually in school, to say grace at lunchtime, to meet as religious groups on school grounds, and to read the Bible or any other religious text during free class time or study hall. These are rights we should jealously protect.

This amendment has the opposite effect. It will introduce the government into policing and refereeing the competing faiths among children in our schools. Far from clarifying the religious freedoms of Americans, this amendment would lead to greater confusion, more court cases, and further misinterpretation by schools and the courts. Is this body ready to endorse the taxpayer funding of religious schools? Are we here today voting to allow judges to lead a courtroom or a jury in prayer before a trial? And ultimately, are we endorsing public school prayers over public address systems? If so, how can we possibly accommodate the diversity of faiths that exist in our society without so diluting the prayer's content that it becomes a watered-down, homogenized recitation? That indeed would trivialize religion and ignore the robust tradition of religion and diversity which has enriched and strengthened our Nation for over 200 years.

We do not need to inject the government into this very intensely personal and private exercise on the part of each individual. We need to use those rights we have, and we need to defeat this amendment.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. DICKEY).

Mr. DICKEY. Madam Speaker, there is a story that comes from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, that explains why I am for this amendment and want to speak for it at this time.

Some 8, 10 years ago, there was an organization called the Fellowship of Christian Athletes at Pine Bluff High School. A minister had been over the years taking care of it. He got transferred out. He could not find anybody, no faculty member, nobody else. He came to a group of us adults and he said, Would you all take over the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and just kind of monitor it and see if you can continue to do the good that we have tried to do? We said yes.

We met once a week during school. We would have prayer, we would provide prayer before ballgames, we would get the kids at the ballgames to go get the other kids after the game and those that wanted to would pray in the middle of the field, and we did those things.

We also did other things. We tried to raise funds in the community so that we could go to national camp. At one time we sent 75 kids to national camp. They all got together and they sold different things, car washes, and everything else. We did things on the weekends. We would have a hobo olympics on the weekends. No one objected to that.

But all of a sudden there started to come in some objections from other areas. Not the parents or anything else. We had a lot of minority. We would go into their churches when they would have times when they were called to preach and so forth. We would all just kind of converge on the churches of our members.

Then all of a sudden people started complaining. Well, what church is behind this? Or how much is the school paying for this? We had to prove these things and prove these things.

Then came a letter one day and it said, "If you don't stop this, we're going to take your school to court." We had to stop it.

Now, the reason I am here is to tell you that I could not answer the question that came by phone after that. One of the athletes, he was not a very good athlete, but he was an athlete which qualified him for this organization, called me and said, "Mr. DICKEY, tell me, are we going to have FCA next week?" I said no.

He said that he had heard that. He said, "How about the week after that?" "No," I said, "we're not."

And he said to me a question that I cannot answer. He said, "Why not? What have we done wrong?" I tried to answer him but I could not.

What I hope this amendment will do and what I trust this amendment will do will answer that young man so that we can have organizations like this across the Nation.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT).

Mr. McDERMOTT. Madam Speaker, if you listen to this debate, you would think that if you oppose this amendment, you are against religion. Nothing could be further from the truth. Many of us who are believers or have a belief do not wear it on our shirt. My belief is that if it ain't broke, we don't need to fix it. This amendment fixes something that isn't broke.

The thing that is most disturbing about it is this. If you look around the world, at Northern Ireland, the Middle East, South Asia, the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians, all of those are religious-based conflicts. We have managed to avoid that in this country.

We have always had a party of fear. There was a party of fear called the Know-Nothings, which was really the base of the Republican Party in the 1850s. They did not like Catholics and they did not like anybody who did not speak English. So they did not like Germans and they did not like Irish immigrants. That is the nature of this debate.

There is an exhibit opening in the Library of Congress today about the issue of religion in this country. My belief is we ought to pay attention to Ignacius who said, "Give me a boy to the age of 6. After that, you can have him."

You choose the prayer in his schools, you affect his life.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, under the first amendment, individuals have a sacred right to religious expression. Students have the right to pray, read the Bible, initiate prayer clubs, and distribute religious materials.

The constitutional amendment before us would go far beyond the first amendment by sanctioning organized prayer and display of religious symbols. Instead of guaranteeing religious freedom, this amendment would actually burden the religious rights of individuals.

Questions like this are presented by the amendment: Which prayer? What symbols? What happens to those whose prayer and symbols are not included?

How is everyone's religious freedom served by this amendment which would allow a particular prayer to be organized, broadcast over the school intercom and participated in by a teacher or other administrator.

The first amendment protects the balance necessary to ensure individual

religious freedom. This constitutional amendment jeopardizes that balance so carefully crafted by the founders of our Constitution. Their wisdom prevails to this day and should not be rejected by passing this amendment.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. The Founding Fathers recognized that faith in God was critical to this Nation and any Nation. Indeed, they said that our inalienable rights were God-given, not by the State, not by the king, but God-given.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that no government on earth is powerful enough to exclude my God from any place that a person of faith raises their voice to pray to my God. I believe that faith is critical.

Concern about majority religion prevailing over the masses is not a new phenomenon in Maryland. In 1643, the Catholic community passed the Act of Religious Toleration because they were concerned that the majority of Protestants in the colony would force them to practice the Protestant religion rather than the Catholic religion.

Mr. Speaker, the concern here is to protect faith, to protect church, to protect those who choose to pray and who choose to worship in their own way. I believe that the First Amendment was designed specifically for that purpose.

Roger Williams, indeed a Baptist like me, was an antecedent to the creation of the First Amendment. I believe that we do not need to amend this provision. But we do need to stress that faith in God and raising our voices in prayer continues to be one of the most important things that Americans can do.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. KENNELLY).

Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, this Nation rests on a foundation of religious liberty. None of our freedoms are more jealously guarded. I would urge my colleagues to approach this amendment very cautiously, because it could very well undermine the freedom we so cherish.

The truth is, this amendment is not about religious freedom, which is already guaranteed in the United States of America. It is not about religious expression in public places, which is permitted under current law.

The amendment is about something else, about allowing one person's religious commitment to encroach on another's, about letting a student prayer leader use school microphones to lead class prayer, or letting a judge lead jurors in prayer.

I am deeply concerned about the impact this amendment could have on public education. This amendment could require public funding of non-

public religious schools and shifting dollars and resources from our public system at a time when public schools are literally crumbling and our education system is struggling to keep the resources in our classrooms and keep our students at pace. I urge my colleagues not to do this today.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. COOK).

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Virginia for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Religious Freedom Amendment. Our Founding Fathers never intended the Constitution to be used as an argument against the very freedom of religious expression that brought our earliest forefathers to this great land in the first place.

In the last 20 years, our right to free, personal religious expression has been virtually destroyed by misguided court rulings and wrongheaded public policy. We now live in a world where birth control devices can be dispensed at public schools but a voluntary moment of silent worship is often forbidden.

We have become so afraid of personal religious expression in schools and public places that in my State, ironically a State founded by those fleeing religious persecution, and on a national level, teacher unions are decrying a return to conservative values and, in particular, personal religious expression. They say those values and those religious expressions are a threat to public schools. Why? Because they are liberals, and they are out of touch with 80 percent of the people of my State and indeed this country, who believe that we should get violence out of our schools and allow into our schools personal religious expression. Religious speech is as free as any other form of speech, yet the courts have regulated religious expression more stringently than they regulate pornography. This amendment would return our Nation to a balanced approach that says personal religious expression shall be permitted, not restricted.

This clear, commonsense amendment does not limit. It does not ban. It does not require. It does not proscribe or compel. It simply allows people to exercise that most fundamental of human rights, the right to acknowledge their God and their religious traditions and beliefs in all places, according to the dictates of their own consciences, not just at home, behind closed doors, but in public places, on public property and in our schools.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS).

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I teach my daughter she can pray and anytime, anywhere she wants, and my daughter does that. She has taught me a lot of things about prayer. My wife knows

she can pray anywhere she wants at any time. I urge my colleagues to recognize that we already have this right. All we need to do is fight for it. We do not need to change the Constitution of the United States.

In a letter that was sent out to the Constituents of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS) the Christian Coalition, said this amendment would allow all Americans the freedom of religious expression in public places and would ensure that school children are not punished for creating a valentine to Jesus or for reading a Bible during free time.

They can do that right now. If someone seeks to punish them, they should use their freedom of speech under the Constitution and protest, however they have to protest.

Let's just fight for our rights under the Constitution, instead of trying to change it.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Istook amendment. I am really concerned that this amendment would have more far-reaching and negative effects than most Americans realize.

First of all, the issue of prayer and religion in public schools touches deep emotions in most Americans. It has spawned much heated debate here in Congress, and in State legislatures across the Nation. In 1978, the State of Maryland passed a moment of silence law allowing schools in the State to incorporate voluntarily a daily moment of silent meditation into opening exercises. A part of this law allows teachers or students to pray or read silently from the Holy Scripture during this moment of meditation. Other States have passed similar laws.

Amending the Constitution is a serious business. Our Founding Fathers were wise to set up a wall separating church from State matters. We should not be rewriting the religious freedom provisions in the Constitution. The establishment clause substantially protects the religious freedom of every American. Under the establishment clause, the bells of religious liberty ring in every corner of our Nation with clarity, with harmony and without discrimination.

I urge my colleagues on behalf of all Americans to vote no on this issue.

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Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEARNS).

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to lend my voice to allow every American citizen the fundamental right to express their religious faith on public grounds. The previous speaker from Maryland, my good colleague, has indicated that the States are starting to do

what we are trying to do here in Congress. So the fever and the enthusiasm to have voluntary prayer is spreading across this Nation already, and I think it goes to the heart of the matter that we in Congress need to do this on a national basis.

In fact, in a recent poll in which voters were asked about moral issues that are confronting this Nation, almost 70 percent agree that America needs a religious freedom amendment that would simply allow voluntary prayer.

Mr. Speaker, Benjamin Franklin rose during the gathering of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 and stated, quote, the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men, end quote. He went on to suggest at that point that the Convention begin its very own sessions with prayer "imploping the assistance of heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations."

We pray in the Senate, we pray in the House. We are simply asking for voluntary prayer today. Why can not schoolchildren rise today, just as Benjamin Franklin did 211 years ago, and ask for God's providence and assistance at the start of their day?

This amendment is simply the very essence of our Constitution and our cultural history, to allow the free religious expression of the American people that every American was able to enjoy for 190 years of our Nation's existence.

So, Mr. Speaker, I think the Religious Freedom Amendment is very important. It would eliminate the ambiguous constitutional question that has been established as a standard for religious expression. This amendment does not force religious choice on anyone who does not want to participate.

Mr. Speaker, I urge its adoption.

CHRISTIAN COALITION,  
CAPITOL HILL OFFICE,  
May 28, 1998.

PROTECT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM—VOTE FOR THE  
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: On Thursday, June 4th, the House will hold a truly historic vote. For the first time in 27 years, you will consider an amendment to the United States Constitution concerning the fundamental right of an American citizen to publicly acknowledge his or her religious faith. This constitutional amendment will guarantee the same First Amendment protection to religious speech as for non-religious speech, including voluntary school prayer. In a nation that was founded on the principle of religious liberty, we must take steps to restore the rights that our Founding Fathers intended to protect. And in a recent poll in which voters were asked about moral issues confronting the nation, almost 70% agreed that America needed a Religious Freedom Amendment that would allow voluntary school prayer. The Christian Coalition strongly urge you to vote for the Religious Freedom Amendment (H.J. Res. 78).

The most dramatic example of a religious freedom that has been whittled away is the right to religious speech. The right to free speech is one of the most highly revered and

protected rights in our Constitution. Yet, a series of Supreme Court rulings over the past 35 years have misinterpreted the Constitution to ban and censor free speech when that speech is religious in nature. Specifically, the Supreme Court has censored free speech in only three areas: inciting violence and insurrection, obscenity, and religious speech. It is absurd for the Supreme Court to equate the act of expressing one's faith in God with expressions of insurrection or obscenity.

This amendment would protect the right of school children to organize prayer during the school day, while explicitly reigning in the influence and participation of the government in such activities. The government, represented by either a teacher or a school administrator, would be prohibited from requiring, writing or forbidding prayer.

With the protection of the Religious Freedom Amendment, courts would no longer issue rulings such as the one in which the judge upheld a teacher's decision to give a young Tennessee student an "F" on a research paper simply because the student decided to write her paper about Jesus. (Settle v. Dickson County School Board). And the highest court in our land would be required to enforce the right of a rabbi to offer a non-sectarian prayer at a middle school graduation.

Enactment of the Religious Freedom Amendment is the only effective means to truly restore our religious freedom. On behalf of the Christian Coalition, I strongly urge you to vote yes for final passage on Thursday, June 4th.

Sincerely,

RANDY TAKE,  
Executive Director.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BARR).

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida, chairman of the Subcommittee on the Constitution on which I am very proud to serve, for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask those of our colleagues here today who argue against this proposed amendment, "What exactly is it that you fear? What is it in this amendment that makes you so fearful of having the American public debate and decide this issue, that causes you to deny even the American people the right to debate and vote on this issue?"

Is it that perhaps, if the American people had the issue presented to them through their legislatures in a clear-cut way what this amendment, proposed amendment, will do, that they might actually in large numbers all across America, not just in my district in Georgia which strongly supports this but all over the country rise up and tell their legislatures, yes, we do want America to return to its roots; yes, we do want schoolchildren to know that perhaps the Bible and the scriptures, the Old and New Testament and other religious writings are better than guns to solve problems? Is that what they truly fear? Because if it is, then I think this debate ought to really recognize that and ought to highlight that here today. America truly is at a crossroads.

Where we see schoolchildren taking up not the scriptures, not the Ten Commandments, but guns to silence their colleagues, their friends in school, their teachers, then something is wrong. Why are we not to try some new approaches, which after all are not really new approaches at all?

This is an old, old approach. It is an approach recognized by our Founding Fathers, recognized through the greater part of our history and in our schools and our community institutions all across America, that in order to solve our problems here on this earth we ought to have the option of recognizing that there is a power greater than ours to which we ought to turn for guidance and for solutions to our problems.

All we are asking here today is for our colleagues to give the American people what the American people not only want but have an absolute right to, and that is a right to debate this issue. I urge adoption of this so that the States can decide this important issue.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1/4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, freedom of religion is certainly a vital cornerstone of this country. The right to pray, the right to seek divine guidance should be unimpaired, and heaven only knows by watching this Congress in action, or this year in inaction, we have more and more to pray about every day.

But throughout recorded history our forebears have recognized the importance not only of religious conviction but of religious freedom and tolerance, for throughout recorded history there have been those who, as Jonathan Swift so aptly put it, had just enough religion to make us hate and not enough to make us love. And so it is this country was founded on the concept of religious freedom, to respect the rights of others, and that concept has served this Nation very well.

As we look around the world today we think of the divisions caused in society over religion. We look to South Asia or to the Balkans or to the Middle East. But indeed we have our own religious Ayatollahs right here in this country. Some of them unjustly attacked our colleague the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS), and others like Jerry Falwell have declared, "I hope to live to see the day when there will be no public schools. What a happy day that will be."

That is what this amendment is all about, the movement to destroy public education and to substitute religious arrogance for religious freedom.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from

Virginia and the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Edwards for his leadership and for yielding this time to me, and it is interesting that he would have the honor of presiding over this very important debate, for it was in Virginia when those very able gentlemen like Madison and Jefferson debated for 10 years this whole concept of the freedom of religion, something we do today in a mere 2 hours? What a tragedy that we have failed to remember those who fled Europe to avoid persecution because of their religion.

Although this H.J. Res. 78, has received so much attention and phone calls are coming in, and it appears at first innocuous. Further, it seems like it is something those of us who are believers would want to stand up and say, "Lord, we want to see this passed," or Allah or whoever we might believe in. But yet it is something that denies the freedom of religion. It interferes with the First Amendment that respects that there should not be a federal establishment of one religion over another. This freedom of religion in our Bill of Rights is a fundamental and imperative part of who and what America is. Both court decisions and the First Amendment have already allowed our children to pray to whomever their ultimate religious guider is.

This is not running away from the freedom to pray. This is to acknowledge what faiths from all over this country have said, like the Baptist Joint Committee that stated, that this amendment is unnecessary and would in fact completely upset the balance our founders provided between the obligations of religion and those of government in a religiously pluralistic society. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis have said that this amendment poses a grave danger to the American Jewish community by seeking to radically rework the entire relationship of government entities with religious faith.

I heard my colleague the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) and he knows that we have respected each others' differences, but yes, we can pray in schools, 10,000 prayer groups around the country pray in our schools, yes, students do gather to pray everyday they are protected by the first Amendment. The question is, who do you want to have dominate the prayer line if this amendment passes? Will you be accepting of everyone's prayer? Or will you want your child to pray quietly and be able to have the freedom of joining groups of like kind and then going to their respective houses of worship, being trained and loved by their parents or guardians as they desire. These same children can read the scripture wherever they might find it and pursuant to their conscience.

This is a bad amendment, and there are too many religious groups to name

who oppose it. I take special issue with the characterizations of those of us who believe in the Founding Fathers' premise of the Bill of Rights and the freedom of religion in the purest sense, so that we do not develop a Bosnia or an Ireland who have fought all these years, that we are unbelievers. We do believe and our faith is strong and that faith is exercised under the first amendment.

I resent being accused of being non-religious and nonspiritual. It is a private issue. It is an issue that we have died for. It is an issue, when our National Anthem was written, the one thing they looked for: Is the flag still there? This flag protects the freedom of religion; H.R. 78 destroys it.

Mr. Speaker, I pray today that we do the right thing today.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor of the House today to urge Members to oppose H.J. Res. 78, the "Religious Freedom Amendment." First colleagues let me say that we already have Religious Freedom. It's called the First Amendment. The First Amendment states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The Establishment Clause of the First Amendment prevents the government from funding religious ministries or entangling the government in the affairs of religious institutions. In 1787, Thomas Jefferson said to James Madison "I do not like . . . the omission of a bill of rights providing clearly and without the aid of freedom of religion." Jefferson also said in 1813 to Richard Rush that "Religion is a subject on which I have ever been most scrupulously reserved. I have considered it as a matter between every man and his Maker in which no man, and far less the public, had a right to intermeddle." These constitutional safeguards provide religion with a great degree of autonomy from the influences of government. Thus, the Establishment Clause prohibits the government from funding sectarian institutions in order to further a particular mission. H.J. Res. 78 would overrule this fundamental provision of the Bill of Rights. I am always very wary of any attempt to alter the Constitution of the United States. Amending the Constitution is a serious undertaking. It should be reserved for those rare instances where there is a compelling need to establish rights that cannot be secured by other means. Moreover, it must be done in a manner that expands the rights of all individuals—not that expands the rights of some persons by diminishing the constitutional rights and protection of others.

Although the language of H.J. Res. 78 appears at first to be innocuous, it would, in fact, operate to weaken the First Amendment's Establishment Clause. The Establishment Clause, in conjunction with the surrounding court decisions that have arisen from it, is a carefully balanced set of rules to try to settle the tension between a religious (or nonreligious) people's need to express their religion, and at the same time be free from a Government that seeks to compel religion, either religion generally or a particular religion. The Baptist Joint Committee states that this

amendment is unnecessary and would, in fact, completely upset the balance our founders provided between the obligations of religion and those of government in a religiously pluralistic society." The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis have said that this amendment "poses a grave danger to the American Jewish community by seeking to radically rework the entire relationship of government entities with religious faiths. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA state that this ill-conceived attempt to amend the First Amendment is opposed by most of the mainline churches and synagogues in the United States. They also state that a Congress that prides itself on being somewhat conservative could do nothing more radical than amending the First Amendment.

The National Council of Jewish Women believe that amending the Constitution to protect religious expression is unnecessary. Currently, students can pray silently at any time, and student-led religious clubs can meet on school property to pray and study Scripture. They think that this amendment goes too far. While proponents of this legislation will likely argue that it is intended to bolster individual religious freedom, the Istook amendment is both unnecessary and dangerous. H.J. Res. 78 rests on the false premise that current law does not adequately protect religious expression in public places. The courts, however, continue to uphold religious freedom, making a constitutional amendment unnecessary and duplicative. Recent court decisions have reaffirmed the right of citizens to erect religious symbols in public areas and to have access to public facilities for religious activities. Students have the right to pray, read the bible, and distribute religious materials to their friends.

H.J. Res. 78 would go much further and would permit organized prayer and other sectarian activities in public schools. Any student would have the right to lead the class in prayer or other form of worship, because the school would not be able to "discriminate" against the student's religious expression or exercise. The amendment would also permit a teacher to join in the religious worship, because any attempt to prohibit the teacher could be deemed "discrimination" against the teacher's religious expression or beliefs. The Constitution currently respects religious beliefs as a deeply personal manner. Under this amendment, parents could no longer be certain that the religious beliefs, ideas, and modes of prayer taught in the home would not be undermined at public school. Whether a student is ostracized for refusing to participate in the prayer practiced by the majority of his or her classmates, or is pressured to participate in that prayer, organized school prayer would burden the religious liberty of individual students. H.J. Res. 78 would also have the effect of allowing government funds to go to pervasively sectarian institutions to finance thoroughly religious activities. The amendment would mandate that the government directly fund religious schools, houses of worship, and other "pervasively sectarian" institutions that can not be funded under current law. If a government entity denies funding based on the pervasively sectarian nature of an institution, the religious group could claim "discrimina-

tion" under the amendment based on "religious belief, expression or exercise." The Founders of our great nation were all too aware of the dangers of allowing government to promote religion. Such a role on the part of the government would almost inevitably result in the promoting of selected religions over others. Because of that concern, the Establishment Clause prevents the government from funding religious ministries or entangling the government in the affairs of religious institutions. This measure is the fifth amendment considered on the House floor so far this Congress alone—represents a continuation of an unprecedented assault on our Constitution and our civil liberties. It would significantly harm religious liberty in America and is contrary to our heritage of religious freedom that is ensured by our nation's current doctrine of separation of church and state. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson were right two hundred years ago and the American public is right today. We already have a religious freedom amendment; it's called the First Amendment.

I have heard from several of my constituents on this issue. Ryan Dickerson writes: "I believe that the real effects of this amendment go far beyond hat its supporters claim. The amendment would allow government officials to make decisions in their jobs that favor one particular faith." Anne Hanzel writes that, "this legislation, if enacted, would dismantle the existing constitutional separation of church and state by allowing the promotion of prayer in schools, the display of religious symbols on public property, and the use of tax dollars to subsidize private religious schools. Congresswoman, she writes "these are dangerous steps." I leave you with the words again of the great Thomas Jefferson who stated that "I should indirectly assume to the United States an authority over religious exercises which the Constitution has directly precluded them from. It must be meant, too, that this recommendation is to carry some authority. Civil powers alone have been given to the President of the United States, and no authority to direct the religious exercises of his constituents." Let's listen to Jefferson and Madison and defer to the First Amendment. Vote for religious freedom and liberty and Vote No on H.J. Res. 78.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. VENTO).

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Joint Resolution 78, and I understand that the sponsors of this want to do something positive. They want to help in terms of freedom of exercise of religion.

The fact is that the existing language in the Establishment Clause that this addresses is 16 words long. They propose about 85 words to replace this, and they suggest that the court decisions revolving around these 16 words have caused great consternation, and so they propose to send to the Supreme Court and the other courts of this land 85 words to be involved with in terms of judicial review.

So I would just suggest to my colleagues, just on the basis of that particular analysis, now I understand that there is over 200 years of judicial re-

view, and for a nonlawyer like myself that represents a substantial amount of reading. So what they are suggesting is to set that on the shelf and to add to it these 85 words, and my concern is that in their zeal to in fact provide for greater liberty and exercise of religious freedom they in fact may do something very, very different, adding over five times the verbiage for the courts to interpret.

I think that the fact is that if this is a solution, it is a mighty peculiar problem that our colleagues are trying to deal with. I just suggest that they stop and take a deep breath and look at what they are doing in terms of this constitutional amendment.

This establishment provision in the Constitution, while sometimes being interpreted incorrectly by some institutions and historically has evolved in meaning by the courts, has in fact served us very well in terms of trying to establish the proper balance, regards church and state. I am very concerned that the language that is presented to us today as a solution may in fact wrap our religious freedom around the axle with regards to the exercise of religion an essential liberty. The establishment clause in the Constitution is to establish that freedom, and I hope the Members will vote "no" on House Joint Resolution 78 which undermines the first amendment and our religious liberties.

I rise today in opposition to the Constitutional Amendment, H.J. Res. 78. While I support the right to the free exercise of religion guaranteed to all Americans by the First Amendment, I do not support amending our basic document of governance, the U.S. Constitution, to superimpose government sanction and regulation of religious activities.

This measure is completely unnecessary. The United States already has a Religious Freedom Amendment, which has worked for the past 200 years—it is called the First Amendment! The First Amendment would be undermined by the provisions in this measure, not enhanced. Struggles in the colonies created a distaste about unions of church and state, and fostered a movement to eliminate existing establishments. Therefore, the very first Congress of the United States correctly laid the groundwork for government neutrality in religious affairs.

One major point of contention with this legislation is the issue of school prayer. I want to be absolutely clear about this. I support the right of students to voice their beliefs in ways which do not interfere or disrupt the rights of other students in a school setting. The First Amendment certainly provides for the religious expression by students while maintaining the people's freedom from government-sponsored religion. This measure would tear apart that existing balance.

There are several ways that students express their religious beliefs in schools. Student prayer and religious discussion groups are becoming more common within such settings. Students may speak and express opinions about religion, just as they would speak about

political opinions, or any other topics. Students may well express their beliefs about religion in the form of chosen topics, written projects, artwork, and other assignments or endeavors. Furthermore, schools today, with the rights confirmed by the First Amendment, may not bar students from expressing their personal religious views or beliefs solely because they are of a religious nature. School authorities may not discriminate against private religious expression by students. It is clear that the First Amendment provides ample room for religious expression by students, while at the same time maintaining freedom from government sponsored religion.

Not only is this measure unnecessary, it represents a grave risk. The language of this legislation would permit the government to fund establishments such as churches, synagogues and parochial schools. Rather than solve a problem, this creates new problems and undermines an over 200 year old Constitutional balance.

First of all, it creates an entanglement of church and state. Government funding leads, necessarily, to government monitoring. Government-subsidized religion would invariably trigger battles among legislators and religious groups about who gets a cut of the limited money in the public purse. Inevitably, only majority religions would prevail—religions that can, in essence maintain popular support!

This amendment has vast implications regarding school prayer and school funding. Existing interpretations of the establishment of religion clause clearly prohibit government-financed or government-sponsored indoctrination in to the beliefs of a particular religious faith. If the Religious Freedom Amendment were passed, private elementary and secondary schools would be fully eligible for direct government funding. The result? Tax dollars would be diverted to religious school voucher programs. The public will be clear on this point, "public tax payer dollars should be used to support public education".

With some substantial effort, taxpayers already support a school system. They can't and shouldn't be expected to support multiple systems, some of questionable purpose and quality, most with a religious mission, and others which are for the wealthy in our society.

The First Amendment to the Constitution has long served as a protector of religious rights and provide a safeguard against using public funds to establish a religion or advocate religious practices. The amendment has served our nation well, and there is absolutely no reason to alter it. H.J. Res. 78, a transparently politically inspired measure, undermines our liberties. This legislation has been trumped up for political purposes, not to expand the rights of American people but rather to make virtue of force feeding extreme religious views to the public, willing or not to accept those views. The effect would be to dishonor and undermine both of our rights and our liberties concerning religion and free expression. I urge my colleagues to join me in opposing H.J. Res. 78.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. ADERHOLT).

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Mr. ADERHOLT. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution was intended to guar-

antee freedom of religion, not freedom from religion, but there are those who have clearly been determined to drive out all traces of religion from the public sphere. They have ignored the religious traditions upon which this great Nation was founded.

When a small child in De Kalb County, Alabama, is subjected to two restrictions on how, when and where they can pray, this is not freedom. When tax dollars are used against people that will go to pay court-appointed monitors to go into the schools, this is not freedom.

This amendment does not endorse any one religion, but it, rather, states that religious expression such as prayer, which has deep-rooted significance in the history of this Nation, should not be excluded from the public square.

How can we promote integrity in our leaders and improve the moral fiber of our people without a basis and some absolute standard? George Washington, of course, the Father of our Country, probably said it best in his farewell address when he said morality could not be maintained without religion. His words were, "National morality cannot prevail in the exclusion of religious principle."

As has been mentioned here today, we open each session with prayer in this Chamber, the face of Moses looks down on us all as we stand here this afternoon, and we should not deny that same privilege to our children and the people of the United States of America.

This amendment reaffirms that we are a Nation dedicated to religious liberty, and I am proud to stand here on the floor of the United States House of Representatives to speak out in support of public religious expression and against the proposition that religious values and people of faith should be relegated to the back seat of public life.

I commend my colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK), for bringing this issue to the national attention, and I strongly urge my colleagues to support religious freedom.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK).

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this amendment seeks to solve a problem that does not exist and then quietly create a very serious problem.

There is no constitutional prohibition against children praying in school. Yes, teachers have told children not to read the Bible on the school bus or say grace before meals. Those teachers were wrong. Teachers are not infallible. Children have the right to do that. At all of those many moments during the school day when, without disrupting the regular procedure, children are free to talk, to read, to decide what to do, they may themselves pray, if they have been taught to do so.

The real problem here, and I find this ironic from people who talk about

themselves as "defenders of family values," is that there are many in this country who do not think that the average family, left to its own choices, will inculcate enough religion in their children, because any schoolchild who has been brought up to be religious will find innumerable chances during the day in school, and certainly before and after at school clubs that are sanctioned, as they should be, to pray. They can read the Bible on the school bus. They can say grace before they eat. They can say a prayer as they walk to class. They can say a prayer in the school yard at recess.

But people think children, left to their own, will not do enough, so this amendment seeks to allow us as a society to use the mechanism of compulsory school attendance to inculcate in official settings more religion in schoolchildren than they would learn at home.

Nothing now in the law prevents children from expressing themselves religiously, if they have been told to. But people who think they should be in charge of other people's religious instruction think that this does not provide enough. They want to use the coercive school mechanism, so that children who would not otherwise pray will be pressured into doing so, or pressured into doing so in a certain way.

Religion does not need now, as it has not in the past, the help of these self-appointed volunteers. Let us leave religion to the families and to individual choice. That choice can be freely expressed in school, as it can elsewhere, in the way that prayer has always been meaningful.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. SKAGGS).

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, let me ask my friends, how has the first amendment failed this country? I do not understand what we are doing here today. How has the first amendment failed this great land?

As with other parts of the Bill of Rights, the Founders had the foresight to set aside this precious area of individual religious choice and belief as free and insulated forever from majority rule, a terribly important central principle in a land as huge and as diverse as ours.

What this amendment, if it were to pass and become part of the Constitution, will do is to reverse that. It will make the use of public places and public spaces for religion subject to majority rule.

For those of you who believe we should have prayer in those places, including prayer in school and other religious observances, please think for a moment again about how fragile this country of ours is in matters of religious tolerance, how much care and work it takes to keep its fabric together, keep it from coming undone.

If we take this step, if we say to our friends in this country who do not share the majority faith, that you will be subjected, as will inevitably happen if this were to become part of the Constitution, in that most private and precious individual area of faith, to having your beliefs subordinated to those of the majority in the public business in this country, think again as to whether that really contributes to keeping this country whole, to living up to that value of one out of many. And reject this amendment.

Mr. Speaker, all year long we've been neglecting our work. There are important measures the House should be taking up, to properly attend to the people's business. But this is not one of them.

In fact, rewriting the bill of rights the way this amendment would do is something we should not be doing—not today or any other day.

This proposal is unnecessary. It's also profoundly unwise. Its adoption would undermine, not advance, our country's heritage of religious freedom. Its adoption would be breaking faith with our proud heritage of liberty.

Its supporters say that its primary purpose is to protect the ability of students to join in voluntary prayers in a school setting. But in fact, that's a problem that's already been addressed. Thanks to the Equal Access Act, passed in 1984 and upheld by the Supreme Court in 1990, thousands of students are joining in prayers and other religious expressions organized not by the state but by voluntary, student-run clubs that meet before or after classes—just like other extracurricular groups.

In fact, the free exercise of religion in America is alive and well among students and adults alike—protected by the same First Amendment whose establishment clause also protects against imposition of state-sponsored religion.

But this amendment is not just unneeded. It's also a bad idea. By revising the bill of rights, it would replace the familiar, balanced protections of the First Amendment with new language, language that hasn't been applied in any context or tested in any court. That means this amendment, if adopted, will create new disputes; it will trade new lawsuits for old ones. In other words, it's a prescription for new controversies, not a recipe for resolving old disputes.

Also, the language isn't just new. It's also very sweeping. The first part of the proposed amendment says "the people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed." Note that this would establish a right that could be exercised on any public property—not just in schools.

Whose right would this protect? Who are "the people"? It could mean anyone and everybody—it could be an individual right of any person. If so, what would that mean?

Well, public school teachers and administrators are people, so arguably this would mean that they stand and recite prayers in classrooms, regardless of the wishes of the students or their parents.

Judges are people, and courtrooms are public property, so presumably all judges

could place symbols of their various faiths in their courtrooms, regardless of how offensive this might be to people of other faiths who are legally summoned to come to those courtrooms and to comply with the rulings of those judges.

Sheriffs, prosecutors, and prison wardens are people, too, so presumably they also could insist on offering prayers or displaying religious symbols in their offices or in prisons, regardless of the different religious beliefs of their deputies, the members of the public with whom they come into contact, or the prisoners under their control.

The doctors, nurses, and administrators of Veterans' hospitals are people, and so are their colleagues in city-owned hospitals or similar facilities—so, again, those public properties could be used to emphasize or support one faith, regardless of the views of some of the very taxpayers who support them or the patients they treat.

And the same goes for every other public employee and every public official, great or small, in every community, and on every kind of public property.

On the other hand, as a legal term "the people" often means people acting through their governments, not as individuals. If that's what is meant here, then this amendment may establish a new right for the people of a community, acting through their state or local government, to use public property to set up religious symbols or to otherwise give official recognition to some religious traditions but not others.

So, whatever "the people" may mean, this amendment—even though it starts out by saying that neither the federal government nor any state government can establish any official religion—will have the predictable effect of entangling religion and government throughout the country, leading to exactly the ugly disputes and bitter resentments that have so deeply divided so many other societies. Why would we want that?

And that's not all. The proposed amendment also says "Neither the United States nor any State shall \* \* \* deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion." Again, this would be new language, untested language. What could it mean?

Well, it could mean that religious institutions serving a particular faith could insist on "equal access" to any program funded by any taxes—local, state, or national. According to the many groups who form the National Coalition for Public Education, it can be read to mean "public schools being used to support religious education and \* \* \* tax dollars being diverted to religious schools". Others may not agree with that—but, again, this is new and untested language and so at a minimum it means new controversies, new litigation, new divisions.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, this is not what we should be about. We should get on resolving our problems, not adding to them. We should be working together to meet our country's needs and enabling Americans to improve their lives. We should not be doing things that will produce new and unnecessary divisions and controversies. We should focus on making the government work better, not on trying to revise the bill of rights. We should reject this resolution.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, this amendment should really be labeled the religious coercion amendment, or the establishment of religion amendment, because it does so. It establishes religion according to the tenets of the majority in a given local area in three ways:

First of all, it says it is a school prayer amendment, a coercive school prayer amendment. Someone once said that there is plenty of prayer in the public schools; that as long as there are math tests, there will be prayer in the public schools. Of course, that sounds funny, but it recognizes reality. Children are free to pray at any time they want in the schools.

What nobody is free to do is to have organized prayer in a coercive manner, to coerce someone to pray or to have to separate himself or herself from the group and say, "I am different and I do not want to join in your prayer." That is coercive prayer. This amendment would permit that. That is what the Supreme Court does not, and properly does not, permit.

Secondly, this is far more than a coercive prayer amendment in two ways. This amendment says the people's right to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage or traditions on public property, including schools, should not be infringed.

What does that mean? The people, collectively, through their local city council or school district board or legislature, the people's right to put a cross or a Star of David or a crescent or a centaur symbol above the judge's bench in the courtroom or in the school, will not be infringed.

If you are a member of the minority and a member of a jury and you do not want to be on the jury in front of a religious symbol that is not yours, too bad. If you are a member of the minority in that town, if you are a Catholic and they have a Protestant symbol, or vice versa, and you do not want to be in the school room with that, too bad. Because the right of the people, the majority, to bring their religious beliefs, heritage or traditions into public property, including schools, shall not be infringed.

Finally, what does it say? It says neither the United States nor any State shall deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion. What does that mean? What that means is that you cannot deny access to a benefit on account of religion.

Let us assume we establish, as we have, a hot lunch program for poor people, and let us assume that a church wants to be the agent for distribution of the hot lunch program and submits a grant proposal. That is fine.

But let us assume that that church, as a condition of giving out the hot

lunches, wants to subject the people to proselytizing, to a religious sermon or to a prayer first. Right now, they cannot do that. You are entitled to the hot lunch if you qualify. But we cannot deny to the church the benefit of distributing the hot lunches on account of religion, so now we can have religious tests for getting benefits from government. The church cannot be denied the right to religiously proselytize in order to get the benefit of participating in the government program.

This, Mr. Speaker, is a coercive reestablishment of religion amendment, and I submit it is extraordinarily ill-advised.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. FAZIO).

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, the Founding Fathers struggled long and hard over the very issue that we are spending relatively little time on here today on the floor, but I can say I think from listening to this debate that the Members on both sides of the aisle speak from deep conviction. Their comments today about their own personal faith that they bring to this debate I think have made the debate on this issue exemplary. I am particularly impressed by those Members who perhaps do not talk about their religion on a regular basis but who have today talked about their belief in God and the way in which they attempt to communicate with their God through private prayer.

But, unfortunately, I think the amendment we are voting on today is unnecessary and, frankly, could do damage to the first amendment that gives Americans the freedom to practice whatever religion they choose and the protection, which we often overlook, of not having religion forced upon them.

Our Founding Fathers were just as concerned about the people who came to this country to practice their beliefs out from under organized, government-sanctioned religion. This is not simply a concern about religion influencing a secular world. We all believe that spiritualism and prayer can infuse themselves into our public deliberations in a private way, but we are also concerned about somehow government making a determination as to what private prayer can be and what people can do under the first amendment protection of Freedom of Religion.

I am convinced that all of us understand that while there have been some decisions made at some levels of government that have confused or confounded us about the appropriateness of public displays of religion conviction, that the essential benefit of the first amendment of the separation of church and State is ultimately a protection of those who believe in religion and practice it daily.

So I am very hopeful that, despite the elevated nature of this debate and

the sincerity with which the positions are held, we will come to the conclusion that it is not timely to abandon the first amendment of the Constitution, now over 200 years old. Protect our rights and vote against this misguided amendment which is so strongly opposed by most of our nations organized religions.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK).

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I think it is time to restore some perspective on what we are discussing and what we are not. This is the text of the Religious Freedom Amendment. "To secure the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience: Neither the United States nor any State shall establish any official religion, but the people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, prescribe school prayers, discriminate against religion, or deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion."

That is what is at issue before us, and people that do not like it seem to fall into, they say, one of two categories.

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Either those who say there is no problem or those who say, well, there is just no solution. Those who say there is no problem, I have gotten very tired of hearing people say, oh, they already have prayers in school; because we have got math tests, we have got prayer in school; or because we do have Bible clubs that are permitted to meet on school grounds.

Ladies and gentlemen, read the law. Read what the Supreme Court said. They are permitted to meet on school grounds before school or after school. They are not permitted to meet during instructional time like any other student club is: Spanish club, chess club, Future Teachers of America, whatever it may be. They can meet during a recess. They can meet during a lunch time. They can meet during a study hall. But not a faith-based club.

Read the Supreme Court decision on the equal access law. Maybe some are still doing it; they are practicing civil disobedience, and more power to them, because, perhaps, the ACLU and the other groups that oppose this amendment have not gotten around to filing suit there yet. That is why we still have some prayer in different environments. They have not yet filed all the suits.

Someone mentioned football game prayer. Great. I think it is fine. They are suing in West Virginia to stop it. Look at Ohio, with the ACLU suing to stop the use of the State motto, which is "With God, all things are possible."

I mean, they are coming down on it right and left all over the country. Do you say there is no problem, or do you say, well, there is no solution? To those who say maybe there is a problem but this is not the way to go about it, get your heads out of the sand. What are you doing about it?

I could not believe I heard one Member earlier say that, yes, we have a problem but we already have the right to do the same things that this says, so just fight for it. If they seek to punish us, just protest and fight.

What are they saying? Do they or do they not respect a court opinion even if they disagree with it? Are they saying that the solution is for people to go out there and fight against what the Supreme Court has said, or use the orderly process set up by the Constitution to fix it when the Supreme Court has gone astray and has twisted and distorted the beautiful, plain, simple words of the First Amendment? That is what we are trying to do, use the peaceful process to resolve the disputes.

If my colleagues say, well, yes, there is a problem but we ought to do something about it, then what is their solution, and why are they not helping us?

I have heard persons say there is a problem but we do not want this amendment. Those persons have not done diddly to help with this effort. Vote for the RFA.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER).

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I had signed on to support this amendment, and I started calling some of my friends that I had known for years. For some 16 years I traveled all over this country and into Canada and places, singing gospel music, and I have been in every kind of church that my colleagues can imagine. I have been in the churches where their religious beliefs led them to take up the serpent. I never did get into that too much, but I have been in all kind of churches.

My grandfather started Happy Hill Baptist Church in Alabama, where I am still a member. I went there last Sunday. About 40 people. People got up and testified and talked about what God had done for them. Over these 16 years that I traveled all over the country, I have seen every type of religious philosophy.

You would think from some of the calls that we have had in our office that only the people that support this amendment can be Christians. You would believe, if you believe these calls that we are having, that unless you support this amendment, that when you stand before the bar of God and you stand before the bar of judgment, they are going to say, "Sorry, you cannot come in here because you did not support the Istook amendment. Sorry about that. You have been good. You

have been a good family man. You have supported your children. You have gone to church. You have tithed. But you did not vote for the Istook amendment and you cannot come in here."

My good friend the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS), who I have known many years, there is not a better family man, a better moral man in this body than the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS). When somebody takes the liberty to send out a massive mailing that says that this man is a bigot, and the author of this amendment last night on television refused and would not say that he acknowledged that he was a bigot, he would not deny it, and when they send out a letter this way and a card and say this man is a bigot, that to my knowledge, and I do not judge, but that is not Christian.

This is one of the finest family men, one of the most devoted men that I have ever met. To say that he is a bigot and there is no place for him in this Congress or in this country because he is against the Istook amendment is wrong.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am leaving this body at the end of this year. I have had threats, and most of the threats that I have had over the years had to do with religious issues. The Christian Coalition is sending out a letter that says this is going to be on the report card; if Members vote against the Istook amendment, we are going to get them in the next election.

Some of this posturing reminds me of the Pharisees when they stood in the temple and said, "Lord, look at me. I have given all this money, and I have done all of this." The people that have labored in the vineyard, that have helped the hungry and the needy, went about their business of praying in private. Give me that crowd rather than the ones that posture and try to make political mileage out of something that is so precious to all of us.

I will say this today. I believe that when I stand before the bar of judgment and God looks at my record, He is going to judge my record, not only whether I voted for the Istook amendment, but He is going to rate me on what I have done to obey His word and to do what I am supposed to do for the most needy in this country. I will take my chances on that.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LEACH).

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, few issues are more difficult for a legislative body to deal with than those that affect religion. At issue today is the question of whether the First Amendment to the Constitution should, in effect, be modified.

The approach brought forward today represents an attempt to ensure that the faith which founds our lives as individuals and the religious values that bind us together as a so-

ciety can have free expression. This is an honorable and most worthy motive and the only credible grounds for opposition must be based on the assumption that the First Amendment to the Constitution crafted by Jefferson and Madison is a greater protection of prayer and worship than the approach brought before us today.

The question this House must answer is thus whether expressions of faith in America will be freer with or without this proposed amendment.

My view is that the Constitution as it currently is written, which carries with it certain court decisions which at times are perplexing, nevertheless better protects freedom of religion than the well-meaning but potentially counterproductive language of the proposed amendment.

I reach this conclusion reluctantly, because I realize this amendment is championed by individuals and groups which have the well-being of our children, families, and Nation at heart.

I also realize we are considering this amendment at a time when a seeming epidemic of lethal violence perpetrated in some instances by children against children has led to deeply troubling questions as to how and even whether the faith and values that have sustained this country for over two centuries can be transmitted to the next generation of Americans.

Yet I am convinced that faith will be freer and thus more meaningful under the Constitution as it is now crafted than under the strictures under consideration today.

Nowhere more than in the First Amendment is the genius of our Nation's founders more clearly revealed. Its sixteen words—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"—establish for the first time in human history that coercion would be replaced with persuasion in the religious life of a people.

The founders understood that citizens derive their values from faith, but that faith should be practiced willingly, not on demand. Proselytizing under the Constitution can only occur with permission, not compulsion.

I believe Congress would be wise to validate the appropriateness of moments of silent prayer or meditation in public schools, but for all its good intentions, the amendment before us opens the door to the authorization of majority-crafted spoken prayer in public schools. To say that children need not participate and would, for example, be free to leave the room is to deny the coercive power of peer pressure on young people.

As a Member of Congress, I frequently visit schools. When the prayer in school issue is raised, students are generally divided. But to the question: "Assuming prayer is required, would you prefer spoken prayer or a moment of silence?" every class I have spoken to has overwhelmingly indicated a preference for silent prayer or meditation. "Group prayer," one 9th grader told me, "would embarrass too many of my friends . . . It would be unfair."

My advice to the students I talk to is to pray at home, pray in church, pray in school and on the playground, but pray in your way, alone with God, and don't forget to pray for tolerance and those of differing faiths.

Moreover, no matter how carefully and sincerely stated, any prayer, especially if written by an official or arm of the State—i.e., teacher, principal or school board—can too easily offend members of one or another Christian denomination. For some, a "non-denominational" prayer that makes no mention of Jesus Christ would lack depth. For Protestants and Roman Catholics, the difference regarding the status of Mary and the saints and the role of the church hierarchy is profound.

For Jews and Christians, piety takes very different expressions. For Muslims, prayer involves turning toward Mecca and prostrating one's self. For Islam prayer is adoration of Allah, involving no requests and asking no blessings, as most Christian prayers do. For the son or daughter of Vietnamese-American Buddhists a "voluntary" prayer satisfactory to Southern Baptists or the Eastern Orthodox is likely to be unintelligible.

James Shannon, one of the most thoughtful theologians of our times, points out that in both the Hebraic and Christian traditions, specific modes of prayer, going back to Mosaic and early Christian times, distinctly demarcate the prayer lives of scripturally oriented Jews and Christians. The name of God, Shannon notes, is so sacred in the Mosaic code that it is to be used seldom in prayer or speech. Hence the preference in Hebraic prayers for alternative expressions that praise the majesty and other attributes of God without specifically mentioning the sacred name of Yahweh. For Jews there are right and wrong ways to conduct a conversation with God, and it is unlikely a public school board is a competent institutional forum for developing modes of prayer inoffensive to Jewish students.

At the same time, because prayer is the most intimate expression of the human mind and heart, anything prepared with the specific intent of being inoffensive to all would be form without substance, not prayer in any genuinely spiritual sense.

Such an empty effort would be demeaning to sincerely religious individuals and run the risk of leading children to view religion as just another expression of the hypocrisy they already see in so much of the adult world.

On a more mundane level, the amendment before us would permit—or by some readings even require—the government to fund religious activities on the same basis it does secular activities. This would violate the constitutional principle that taxpayers not be forced to support religious institutions. It would also open the door to an unseemly and contentious competition between religious groups for public funds.

More importantly, government funding inexorably leads to government regulation, which would precipitate a most pernicious unintended consequence. Government regulation would undermine the autonomy of religious organizations and in the process rob churches, synagogues, mosques and temples of the vital prophetic role they play in America's national life.

In the United States there is no state "Church." But by recent count there are thousands of organized religious groups which provide solace and inspiration to the individual believers who belong to them. Without intending to do so the amendment before us could

undermine the ability of these institutions to serve as independent, vibrant witnesses to our nation on behalf of the values on which they are founded.

Our founding fathers established a Nation "under God," one in which revolution against British authority was premised upon "self-evident" individual rights and an appeal to a higher law of conscience which precedes the more mundane civil laws of society. But in appealing to conscience to justify a revolutionary government, America's first citizens labored carefully to construct, in Jefferson's terms, a wall between church and state.

When erecting this Constitutional barrier between church and state, the crafters of the Bill of Rights looked inward to well as outward and turned a wary eye to the American as well as European experience. They fully understood that it was religious authoritarianism in Europe that drew many of the early settlers to our shores, but that upon arriving in the New World, some like the Puritans invoked a rather exclusionary discipline of their own, with witchcraft trials and stocks and pillories used to coerce alleged nonbelievers. "Who does not see," Madison warned, "the same authority which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other religions may establish, with the same care, any particular sect of Christians in exclusion of all other sects?" The strength of the haven we have provided for oppressed people the world over comes from a tolerance for diversity rather than an enforced conformity.

It is sometimes suggested by politicians that God has been excluded from the public schools and that we must amend the Constitution to put God back into our schools. Is this not blasphemy? Just as the Supreme Court cannot keep God out of our schools, Congress cannot put Him back in. God is not an object like a bicycle or candy bar. He is the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and anyone—adult or child—may speak to Him from the heart whenever and wherever they are moved to do so. As long as human tribulations exist—whether caused by a math test or unreturned glance—prayer will not be locked out of schools.

Twenty years ago, in the seminal decision of the Supreme Court banning group prayer in public school, Justice Hugo Black wrote that the Establishment Clause "stands as an expression of principle on the part of the Founders of our Constitution that religion is too personal, too sacred, too holy, to permit its 'unhallowed perversion' by a civil magistrate." Justice Black went on to say of the faith in the power of prayer which animated so many of the authors of the Constitution:

These men knew that the First Amendment, which tried to put an end to government control of religion and of prayer, was not written to destroy either. They knew rather that it was written to quiet well-justified fears which nearly all of them felt arising out of an awareness that governments of the past had shackled men's tongues to make them speak only the religious thoughts that government wanted them to speak and to pray only to the God that government wanted them to pray to. It is neither sacrilegious nor antireligious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the

people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.

Rather than stifling prayer or religious worship, the principal purpose of the First Amendment is to preserve religion in the United States from the inevitably corrupting influence of secular authorities.

Finally, that individual to whom Christians look first for religious guidance, Jesus of Nazareth, warns in the Sermon on the Mount to "beware of practicing your piety before men in order to be seen by them." He goes on to say in Matthew 6:6, "When you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you."

Prayer is an expression of the individual soul's longing for God as the source of all that is true, good, and beautiful. As such, it is far too central a part of life to be tampered with by any government body, be it a local school board or the Congress of the United States.

While the arguments of those who would tamper with our Bill of Rights are not persuasive to this Member, the premise of their arguments cannot be lightly dismissed. America is indeed in need of a spiritual awakening. Evidence mounts every day of the breaking down of family bonds and governmental ethics. But to transfer to the state responsibilities that historically have been the province of the church and family is the ultimate in welfare statism. Americans must come to understand that there are no easy panaceas to moral challenges and no public substitutes for the inculcation of personal values at home.

As for public life, the best reflection of faith is that of example. There is no substitute.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER).

Mr. WICKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) for the time. I rise in enthusiastic support of this legislation today.

The Religious Freedom Amendment would not change the First Amendment to the Constitution, nor has the First Amendment failed this Nation, as some of my colleagues have said today. It is a narrow majority of the United States Supreme Court that has inaccurately interpreted the First Amendment. That is why we are here today.

The fact is that we do have emblazoned on the wall behind me the words "In God We Trust". We do have a picture of Moses, one of the great religious leaders of all times. We do begin each session of this Congress with prayer. Oftentimes I might not agree with that prayer, and oftentimes I might not agree with the religion represented, but even so, that in itself is enlightening to me and I am glad for it.

But in auditoriums, gymnasiums and other public buildings around this Nation, people are deprived of that same freedom of religious expression, and that is not what the Founding Fathers intended.

Let me point out, Mr. Speaker, that this debate is not about government-imposed prayer. It is about voluntary prayer. One of my colleagues said he

did not want the government writing a prayer for his children. Go back and read this legislation. Nothing in this amendment would allow a school to require prayer or to write a certain prayer for a child. There is no coercion here.

But here is what our children need to know, Mr. Speaker, and this message ought to be sent out from this Congress today: that faith and religious beliefs have always been at the center of this Nation's conscience; that faith-based convictions are an integral part of our Nation today; and that there is no place in America for court-imposed, government-sanctioned hostility to religious expression.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition. Religious freedom flourishes in America. Individuals already have the right to pray, talk about their beliefs, express their spirituality, and read scriptures, whether they are in a school, in a courthouse, or on the street.

The most precious thing about that freedom is that it protects individuality. It forces no leaders and demands no followers.

The so-called Religious Freedom Amendment would rob Americans of their individuality. It would break down the barriers between church and State and permit individuals to force their beliefs on others.

Mr. Speaker, this amendment allows the government to endorse a particular religion by displaying certain symbols. It allows the government to fund sectarian groups and creates the likelihood that some groups will be excluded.

Recently conducted polls show that Americans are pleased about their current religious freedom. More than 60 groups representing dozens of faiths are speaking out against this bill. We cannot let one voice take away our freedoms. We must not let the political right take away our religious right. Vote against this.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would inquire of the Chair concerning the amount of time remaining on both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DICKEY). The gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) has 9½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) has 7½ minutes remaining.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Idaho (Mrs. CHENOWETH).

Mrs. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding to me. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in this very interesting debate, and I would just like to put and enter into the record part of what Justice Douglas opined in 1952 in a case entitled *Zorach v. Clauson*.

Justice Douglas opined that the First Amendment does not say that in every respect there should be a separation of church and state. He wrote that "it studiously defines the manner, the specific ways, in which there shall be no concert or union or dependency one on the other." That is what the Istook amendment continues to clearly define.

Douglas wrote "That is the common sense of the matter. Otherwise, the State and religion would be aliens to each other, hostile, suspicious, and even unfriendly." I do not think anyone in this body would want to see us reach that result.

Douglas went on to write that "We are a religious people and our institutions presuppose a Supreme Being. When the State encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events" or even prayer "to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions."

The Justice found that there was no constitutional requirement making it necessary for government to be hostile to religion. In fact, he found quite the opposite. "The government", he said, "must remain neutral when it comes to competition between sects."

Justice Douglas said, "We cannot read into the Bill of Rights such a philosophy of hostility to religion."

The government remaining neutral is exactly what Mr. Istook has drafted into this amendment. It allows for all people of religious convictions to be able to pray.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL).

Mr. CAMPBELL. Under existing law, if a student group wants to invite a political figure to address their graduation, they may do so. I remember my brother's graduation. Ramsey Clark was invited, and he gave a political speech. If that same group of students invites a religious person, however, that religious person may not give a prayer. That is the Supreme Court ruling in 1992.

A second example: Right now, if a political group wants to hold a meeting and express themselves at a public park, they may do so, and there is no obligation that anybody else must be there to water down what they say.

□ 1445

Democrat, Republican, Libertarian, Communist, Independent, all their speech is permitted, with no obligation for anybody else to have to be there to water down what they say. Yet, if a religious group wants to put up a menorah at Chanukka time or a manger scene at Christmastime, the Supreme Court has held it may not do so unless there are also items of non-religious significance so surrounding the manger, so surrounding the menorah, as to deprive it of its religious content.

This is what is known, rather sadly, as the infamous "plastic reindeer rule" of the Supreme Court, that you can only put up a crib at Christmastime if you have enough Frosty the Snowmen, candy canes, snowflakes, and reindeer so as to deprive the religious component of the message.

So I come to the conclusion that given the way the Supreme Court has interpreted the first amendment, religious speech has less protection under our Constitution than does political speech. I do not believe it should have more, but it should not have less.

I quoted two recent Supreme Court opinions that apply in this area of the law. There are others that recently were decided on a 5 to 4 decision going the other way, in fact, going the way that I think it should be, but still, only by 5 to 4. One case dealt with a grant of special education privileges to students who were in particular need of physical rehabilitation, and whether that could be provided on the premises of a parochial school.

The Supreme Court originally said no, I am sorry, you have to take the children down to the fire station, with expense to the school district or to the parents. That was in 1985. Just recently, the Supreme Court eventually got around to reversing itself.

The other recent case is where the Supreme Court said, after a number of years of contrary interpretation, that if a school pays money for some student publications, then it ought also to have to pay money for a school publication by students who have formed a group that is religious in nature.

But look what I have just gone through—two Supreme Court opinions that bind us today that are, in my judgment, quite wrong (that you may only put up a Christmas scene if you have reindeer and that students may not invite a religious speaker who chooses to pray at the commencement address), and two other cases that could have been wrong, but for one Justice.

What we do today is to protect the expression of religion, that it be as fairly allowed in our country as the expression of a political point of view, and we do it the constitutional way.

To those of my colleagues of very good intent who say we must never amend the first amendment, I put to them, please, walk out of our Chamber and look across the street, and they will see the Supreme Court of the United States, where they amend the first amendment regularly. What is wrong with us following the constitutional method, the constitutional route, for doing so?

Let me conclude by saying what is tremendously right about this amendment. If we do not vote for this amendment today, the only way for the States to propose amendments to the Constitution is through a constitu-

tional convention, and then the entire Constitution is open, whereas if we take the narrowly drawn restrictions of the amendment before us today, that is all we put to the States.

We stand in the way of the States' consideration of this amendment. I believe we should vote in favor, to allow the States to amend our federal constitution to guarantee that religion will be on the same level as political speech in our country.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes and 15 seconds to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT).

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in 1994 we got a new majority in this body. They came saying that they were part of a conservative revolution. They were going to be conservative. Who would have ever guessed that that conservative group would have introduced 118 amendments to the United States Constitution? Who would have ever guessed that that conservative group would have voted on 10 amendments in one session, 10 amendments to the Constitution in one session of Congress more than the whole 10 sessions of Congress leading up to it? And they called themselves conservatives, protecting conservative philosophy. They must believe that they are smarter than the Founding Fathers.

So here we are today. We can either have George Washington or we can have Istook. We can have Alexander Hamilton or we can have Istook. That is the choice we have. They say they can draft it better, when our Founding Fathers said it in 10 words: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." They take 86 words to say that they are doing the same thing, using the same word, "establish."

If the Supreme Court is having trouble understanding what "establish" means in the existing Constitution, how are they going to understand it any better in this Constitution? If the Supreme Court is having trouble deciding what it means to discriminate under the existing Constitution, how are they going to have less trouble understanding it under this Constitution?

If the Supreme Court is going to have trouble understanding what it means to deny equal access under the existing Constitution, how are they going to find out, all of a sudden, because the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) drafted 86 words, and the words of our Founding Fathers were not sufficient? It is a cavalier notion to think that we somehow have a better insight into how to deal with this, with the same words, I might say, than the Founding Fathers.

This is not a conservative proposition we are about, here. Amending the Constitution of the United States is a revolutionary principle. Amending the Constitution is a revolutionary

proposition, so they can be true to part of what they said. They said they were going to be a revolution, and they can have a revolution, but if they are true to their word that they are going to be part of some conservative revolution, the principle there is to uphold the most conservative document of our country, the United States Constitution.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS), who has done such a lot of good work on this amendment, and has taken a very courageous stand.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DICKEY). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS) is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, America already has a religious freedom amendment. It was not written by the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK), and passed through this House after less than 1 day of committee hearings and 2 hours of floor debate. Rather, it was written by Mr. Madison of Virginia, after debating with Mr. Jefferson for well over a decade, 200 years ago. Those 16 words that begin the first amendment of our Bill of Rights have served this Nation extraordinarily well. We should not change it for the first time today.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond to some of the things I have heard on the other side of this debate today. First, I have heard that prayer and God have been taken out of our schools. In fact, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) this morning in a debate with me said the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS) wants to take God out of our schools. Nothing could be further from the truth.

I would say, Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) and others that the God I deeply worship and pray to cannot be taken out of any classroom, anyplace, anywhere in America, any time, not by the Supreme Court, not by any Member of this Congress.

I have heard it said that we are talking about, as we change the Bill of Rights, student-initiated prayer. I must wonder, that begs the question, are we going to have committees of 8-, 9-, and 10-year-old schoolchildren in the first, second, and third grade with the responsibility to defend the constitutional rights of the other children in that classroom? Children who have a hard time picking up their toys at home are going to be laid with the burden of protecting the constitutional rights of other children in their schoolhouses?

We heard this will be voluntary prayer. There is nothing voluntary, Mr. Speaker, about an 8-year-old Jewish child who, because of his faith, must leave a classroom every morning, since 99 percent of the other children in that

classroom and 99 percent of the prayers in that classroom are Christian.

There is nothing voluntary about a Christian child having to leave because his parents do not want him to be forced to listen in a classroom that the law says he must attend, in most States, must listen to an Islamic prayer, or some other prayer.

We have heard a lot about tolerance from the other side, Mr. Speaker. Let me tell the Members about the kind of tolerance that has been engendered by the supporters of the Istook amendment.

The Christian Coalition sent out this letter in my district: "The Edwards bigotry", and they were saying my bigotry because I simply opposed the Istook amendment, "The Edwards bigotry directed at Christians and other people of faith is outrageous and must be stopped. His attitudes have no place in Texas or anywhere in America."

Mr. Speaker, I never thought I would be accused of being un-American because I stand with Jefferson and Madison in defense of that wonderful Bill of Rights. That is not the kind of tolerance we should have. If this is the kind of tolerance and respect we are going to have for diverse religious and political views in every classroom across America, that is the kind of divisiveness our schoolchildren do not deserve.

I have heard that the modern day Supreme Court, the liberal Supreme Court, has somehow prostituted the original intent of our Founding Fathers. Let me first point out that seven of the nine Justices of the modern day Supreme Court were appointed by Republican Presidents, including that well known liberal, President Ronald Reagan.

Let me point out that the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) and I do not have the right to change the Bill of Rights every time we disagree with a court decision. Had we maintained that belief, there would not be a Bill of Rights.

If we pass this today, what is next? Do we amend the freedom of speech, the freedom of association? I ask Members to vote against the Istook amendment. The Bill of Rights have served this Nation well for 207 years.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) is recognized for 3½ minutes.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, we are closing the debate on general debate, but we will have a further discussion about a proposed amendment in just a moment. I think it is very important that we keep in mind, Mr. Speaker, that I have heard many people say, we do not want majority rule. That raises a lot of questions in people's minds, because most of the Supreme Court deci-

sions which will be corrected by the Religious Freedom Amendment were decided by the narrowest of all possible margins, 5 to 4 on the Supreme Court. But they refused to correct it. They have refused to fix it.

So I guess they do not want the majority of Americans to rule, they only want the slimmest possible majority on the Supreme Court to dictate and say that, in today's era of political correctness, there is not much worse than having somebody offer a prayer if there is someone else in the room that does not want to hear it.

What a false standard. It is not just about freedom of religion, it is about free speech. If we cannot say something to a group unless everybody there agrees with us, we do not have free speech.

□ 1500

And if we are told that we cannot offer a prayer when we are on government property, and that is everywhere today, then we do not have the right to pray and we do not have religious freedom, if we only have it when we are in a confined area, selected for us by the U.S. Supreme Court. We are not advocating government interfere with religion. We are advocating that government stop interfering with religion and stop dumping on the constitutional rights.

Now, I heard the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) say, how will the Court understand this any better than the first amendment? Because we have taken the same structure and said, do not have an official religion, but this is what the people's rights are. And we have spelled out what is permitted.

And I noticed, maybe it was a Freudian slip, the gentleman read the first part of the first amendment, "Congress will make no law respecting the establishment of a religion," and he entirely left out the next phrase, "or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Because that is what the Supreme Court has done. They have left out the second part of the first amendment.

They have only focused on there cannot be an establishment of religion; and having a prayer in school is the same thing, the same thing as having an officially chosen church for people in the country; and they leave out the next part of the first amendment that says we cannot not prohibit the free exercise of religion. They are so scared that somebody will be offended that they forget that they have offended almost everybody in the process.

How about the people that want to be able to pray in a group? The Lord taught us not only to pray in private and singly but also to pray together. And if my colleagues do not believe that, read the Sermon on the Mount and see where He prayed with multitudes, not just singly or in private.

Mr. Speaker, we believe in traditions of prayer that are both private and public. They are both good. They are both positive. They are both what should be protected by the Constitution of the United States of America.

The Supreme Court has wrongly said we are only going to protect it when it is private or in secret and nobody else knows about it. We want to be able to come together. Come let us reason together. Come let us pray together.

As four Justices in many of those 5-4 decisions wrote, nothing, absolutely nothing is so inclined to foster among religious believers of various faiths a toleration, no, an affection for one another, than voluntarily joining in prayer together. Justices Rehnquist, Scalia, Thomas and White. That is the standard we seek to apply.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Istook Amendment. The First Amendment already guarantees the Nation religious freedom. Do we really need another guarantee? The Istook amendment is both unnecessary and dangerous. This Amendment is an attack on the balance struck by two centuries of jurisprudence on the separation of church and state. Indeed, this amendment would put American religious liberty at risk.

It seems to me that the Founding Fathers thought a thing or two about religion. And they felt so strongly about it being a good thing that government should leave it alone—that it is a personal matter. Indeed, they told us that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." But today, proponents of this amendment want to make some law on the subject by changing the Constitution. I can only assume that many of the supporters of this language desire to further the Founding Fathers' notion that religion is good. However, that is where they part company.

The Founding Fathers realized that an important, if not the most important aspect of any faith, is to have the freedom to pursue it as one desires. Indeed, it is curious to me that advocates of the virtues of this amendment would go about advancing religion in a fashion that would effectively force religion on Americans in many settings, including our students in their classrooms. Compulsion controverts freedom. Freedom is vital to our democracy. And that freedom is what has allowed religion to prosper here for all these years. Moreover, what seems to be most religiously constructive is for an individual, if at all, to come to a belief on one's own accord. This amendment would permit an opposite result.

The result of this amendment would be that teachers, judges, generals, and wardens could hold prayer sessions with their respective audiences and limit such prayers to their own or the majority faith of the surrounding community. And it doesn't take much to see that, under this amendment, some actions would be permitted which heretofore have been limited by other powers under the Constitution. For example, could a group of high school students engage in sexual activity on school grounds because their particular faith has taken a literal interpretation of the Biblical passage in Genesis instructing humanity to go

forth and reproduce? The answer under current law is clear: No. With the amendment, litigation could result because the students' acts might be protected from "infringement" or "discrimination" by this legislation.

On the matter of prayer in the classroom, government-supported school prayer would make strangers of children who do not share the same beliefs as are being prayed in their own schools. Religious minorities, especially, would suffer. As a practical matter, it is nearly impossible for students who wish not to participate to feel comfortable leaving the classroom. Students will be whip-sawed: excuse yourself and feel ostracized or stay and feel uncomfortable. The prayers could be led by government officials. Whose prayers could be required for your children? Bahai, Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, liberal, conservative, or Orthodox, Greek or Russian, Muslim, or Mormon.

Already, current law allows for prayer and other religious expression in public schools. This amendment is unnecessary. Students' religious rights are already protected. They can pray individually or in groups and discuss religion in groups. In addition, under the Equal Access Act Congress passed more than a decade ago, schools must give extra-curricular student religious organizations "equal access" to space, time, and resources that is provided to non-religious groups.

Regarding religious institutions, this amendment would permit, if not require, government funding. This is not a proper role of government. Government should not be meddling in the affairs of institutions of faith or religion. It would violate the conscience of the American taxpayer who would not choose to support the religions that are aided in such fashion. Already, organizations that are religiously affiliated, like Catholic Charities, but which are not pervasively sectarian, can and do receive government grants for social programs as long as they do not advance religion or discriminate on the basis of religion. The amendment would allow taxpayer resources to go to pervasively religious institutions that would be able to use the funds for their own purposes.

Mr. Speaker, the Constitution should only be amended in rare circumstances and only where necessary. My Republican colleagues view matters differently and propose amendments like this one for political purposes, after only one day of hearings. The reasoned and better approach is not to dismantle our Founding Fathers' wisdom in the Bill of Rights with this amendment. Ours is a proud experiment that has permitted religious freedom to flourish in this country, and we should not change that with a politically-motivated attack on that very freedom.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to oppose House Joint Resolution 78, the so-called "Religious Freedom Amendment." This proposed constitutional amendment would obliterate the separation of church and state and would result in government-sanctioned worship, taxation to benefit religion, and majoritarian oppression.

In order to serve its own interests, the radical right is overlooking what is already current law. Religious expression is protected by the First Amendment, and private religious expression is legal everywhere, including public

schools. Under the First Amendment, students can pray silently at any time and even aloud in groups so long as they are not disruptive. Student-led religious clubs can meet on school property to pray and study Scripture. Religious speech in the public square already abounds.

We learned at the beginning of this Republican-led Congress that the government does not hand out money without strings attached. This proposed Amendment to our Constitution goes much further by permitting a wide array of government-sponsored religious expression. It would allow state endorsement and financial support for religious activity not only in schools, but on all public property, including government offices, court houses, and military bases.

It is coercive and vain to impose religion, to require our government to recognize or single-out one faith from another when it is one of thousands of beliefs, faiths, doctrines, and creeds. Allowing government to endorse religion in this way turns religion into a political tool and sends the message that those who do not hold a certain faith are outsiders—and not full members of the political community.

Nearly every mainstream religious group, including the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Muslims, the Unitarians, the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, and the entire Jewish community oppose this amendment. It is clearly supported by a radical religious minority who seek public endorsement of what should be a private affair.

Rather than promoting religious liberty, the "religious freedom" amendment presents a grave peril to the crucial principles protecting religious liberty that are part of the framework of American law. What is not broken needs no repair.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in reluctant opposition to this proposed constitutional amendment. I have always and will always support voluntary school prayer. I believe the right of all people to worship according to the dictates of conscience is fundamental. Reviewing this amendment, however, I am not convinced amending the Constitution is the right answer to bring prayer back to our schools.

As some constituents in my congressional district have pointed out to me, a Constitutional amendment could do more harm than good. It is quite possible that, if enacted, this amendment could even be used to force children to be subjected to religious briefs well out of the mainstream. At the very worst, this amendment could be used to shoehorn cult-beliefs into our schools. One thing is for certain, enacting this amendment would result in even more litigation on religious questions going before the same liberal-leaning judiciary.

I have long supported refining the law to allow maximum room for religious expression. You may remember the House of Representatives passed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993 with my positive vote. But I have been repeatedly dismayed by judicial decisions on religious questions, most recently by the Supreme Court decision in *Boerne vs. Flores* which overturned the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. I am pleased, however, with the results of the Equal Access Act of 1984 and at least one 1990 Supreme Court decision which got it right. As a result, we now

have thousands of voluntary student prayer groups flourishing around the country in public schools as a result.

This is a subject which is very important to me, and I have given it a great deal of thought. It is with reluctance I can not support House Joint Resolution 78, an amendment to the Constitution. Nevertheless, I will continue to work with my colleagues in Congress to find statutory remedies for mistaken decisions of the courts regarding religion.

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Joint Resolution 78, the Religious Freedom Constitutional Amendment. This amendment, which proposes to dramatically alter the First Amendment to the Constitution, is simply unnecessary.

Mr. Chairman, I feel very strongly about preserving the complete freedom of religious expression that is part of what makes this nation great. I also believe that the First Amendment of our Constitution has safeguarded this freedom for over 200 years, and continues to do so today. The First Amendment maintains the delicate balance between the church and state established by the Founding Fathers, and House Joint Resolution 78 threatens this hard-won balance by unnecessarily amending the Bill of Rights of the first time in our nation's history.

However, I do recognize the concerns of several of my colleagues about the impact of certain court decisions on religious expression. Unfortunately, no court can be completely free of human error when interpreting the Constitution. I believe, as do most of my colleagues, that religious expression does have a place in public life. Prayer should not be prohibited in graduation ceremonies. Valedictorians should not be prevented from mentioning God in their speeches. Children should be allowed to engage in voluntary prayer in schools, or anywhere else. By passing House Joint Resolution 78 would not protect religious liberty any more effectively than the First Amendment already does.

Ironically, House Joint Resolution 78 does more to restrict religious freedom than it does to preserve it. By forbidding federal and state governments from denying "access to a benefit on account of religion", House Joint Resolution 78 encourages religious organizations to complete for government funding. Because all groups cannot be funded equally, the awarding of government funds represents unofficial government sponsorship of religious organizations. This is the very situation the First Amendment was enacted to prevent. Government funding of religious groups allows government hands into the workings of these groups, makes them financially dependent on government funds, and is just a bad idea.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that House Joint Resolution 78 needlessly tampers with our nation's strong tradition of the protection of religious liberty. We do not need to amend the Bill of Rights for the first time in our nation's history to protect religious freedom in this country, and I would urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this measure because its clear intent is not to ensure the freedom to engage in religious activity on public property, but rather to open the door to the diversion of hundreds of mil-

lions of dollars from public schools to private religious schools.

I find it ironic that after three failed attempts to get school voucher legislation enacted during this Congress, the Republican majority is now pushing a constitutional amendment that would make public funding of religious schools lawful. We repeatedly told the majority it was unlawful during the floor debates on the various voucher bills, but they rejected our claim and the court decisions that supported it. I am pleased the majority now admits that their voucher scheme was legally flawed, but I continue to oppose direct Federal funding of religious institutions.

The amendment before us states that neither the Federal Government nor any State could deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion. This would mean that whenever public funds are being dispensed to a non-sectarian organization for a program or activity, a religious organization would be entitled to make a claim to the same funding. The religious organization would be free, however, to integrate their philosophy and practices with its service delivery—something that many taxpayers seeking services might find objectionable. But, as a result of this amendment, these organizations would have a constitutionally protected right to do so, no matter whether the focus of the program or activity is education, health care, housing, or criminal justice.

Mr. Speaker, our Founding Fathers did not believe it appropriate for the Government to subsidize religious activity. I believe that, today, this remains a wise policy. The first amendment to the Constitution has served the Nation well for over 200 years by protecting religious expression while also prohibiting Government entanglement in religious practices. This delicate balance should not be disturbed.

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to House Joint Resolution 78 which would amend the constitution to allow prayer in public buildings, including prayer in public schools.

Of the thousands of issues I have debated and cast votes on as a Congressman, none has been more volatile and contentious, nor has any decision been more agonizing than this, because it touches on religious beliefs and practices which are at the very core of our lives. And it is precisely because of the great importance of this issues, to me and to my constituents, that I must oppose this constitutional amendment. There are three reasons for my opposition.

First, the language of H.J. Res. 78 is seriously flawed, will not accomplish what its authors intend, and may in fact invite the very result—government intrusion into private religious beliefs and practices—which its supporters hope to outlaw. Two distinguished constitutional scholars, whose legal and conservative credentials are unquestioned, submitted testimony at House Judiciary Committee hearings held on this resolution last summer, and each drew the same conclusion: H.J. Res. 78 is fundamentally and, in their view, fatally flawed.

Consider the observations of Professor Michael W. McConnell of the University of Utah College of Law, who said: ". . . the sup-

porters of this amendment are to be commended for continuing to focus public attention on the importance of religious freedom . . . [but] the multiple ambiguities in the current proposal make it an unacceptable vehicle for accomplishing its intended purpose." And the statement of Michael P. Farris, a constitutional lawyer and President of the Home School Legal Defense Association, who said: "I am in full accord with the principle goals of [the resolution's] supporters. I want to fully invigorate the right of the free exercise of religion. I simply point out that I do not believe this language achieves the goals of its well-intentioned supporters in either the free exercise or establishment arena."

Second, three recent Supreme Court decisions have substantially strengthened the freedoms at issue in this debate: The Court held that private religious speech is a right entitled to as much constitutional protection as private secular speech (*Capitol Square Review & Advisory Board v. Pinette* (1995)); that it is unconstitutional for a public institution to deny benefits to an otherwise eligible student organization on account of the religious viewpoint of that organization's publications (*Rosenberger v. Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia* (1997)); and that its earlier decision forbidding certain types of educational assistance to children attending religiously affiliated schools should be reversed (*Agostini v. Felton* (1997)). According to Prof. McConnell, the reach of these decisions, along with similar rulings in the U.S. Court of Appeals, "represent a major step forward, and in fact solve a majority of the problems with [this] constitutional doctrine . . ." In short, the resolution's broad and ambiguous language would, if adopted, threaten the reasonable gains which these recent Court decisions embody.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, though, I believe that any constitutional amendment—but especially one such as this which is so central to who we are as a nation and as individuals—should endure debate, examination and scrutiny of the most rigorous standard before it is ratified by lawmakers and the people we represent.

It is no accident that, despite hundreds of attempts, the Constitution of this beloved nation has been amended a mere 27 times since its ratification in 1789, and 10 of those were ratified at once as the Bill of Rights. The original authors understood the importance of this document, and possessed the wisdom to write it as a timeless testament to freedom from oppression and tyranny, political and religious. As I reflect on this blessed history, I harbor no doubt whatsoever that each and every one of those men beseeched his God—the same God to whom we turn every day for guidance—to bestow on him the wisdom to understand the profound historic moment they were creating with His helping hand. That guidance served them well then, serves us well now, and requires no constitutional amendment upon which to draw its strength and purpose.

Mr. POSHARD. Mr. Speaker, after much reflection and careful consideration, I must rise in opposition to this resolution, a constitutional amendment intended to preserve the freedom of religious expression. This is not a decision I make lightly, and because of the complexity of this issue, I feel compelled to share with my colleagues my thoughts and concerns.

Like most Americans, and I am sure like all of my colleagues, I believe very deeply in our Constitution and its Bill of Rights. Amending this document and altering in any way its fundamental principles, which have guided this nation through centuries of growth and change, is something to be done only in the rarest of circumstances. I have been extremely reluctant to tamper with the delicate balance of political and moral tenets embodied in the Constitution, and I am not prepared to do so today.

For 200 years, the First Amendment has guaranteed the protection of all Americans from government intrusion on religious freedom. Under this amendment, students currently enjoy significant opportunities for religious expression within the school environment. School children are free to say grace before lunch, pray privately, read the Bible during a study period, distribute religious materials to their friends and join voluntary religious clubs. I strongly support a moment of silence in schools, during which students could pray, reflect or meditate according to their own beliefs and desires. However, Representative ISTOOK's amendment would go much further by permitting organized prayer and other sectarian activities in public schools, as well as in other public arenas such as courtrooms and government offices. We cross a dangerous line when we move from respecting a student's right to pray in private to imposing a particular kind of prayer or expression of faith on a group of students regardless of personal choice.

Under the First Amendment, government is not permitted to entangle itself in the affairs of religious institutions. This is a fundamental safeguard which has allowed many religions to flourish in this nation and has provided religion with a large measure of autonomy from government influence. Rather than preserve this separation, the Istook amendment would permit, or even require, the government to fund religious activities on the same terms as secular activities. It would, in essence, allow the use of tax money to advance particular religions, without regard for the personal, spiritual beliefs of individual taxpayers. Furthermore, once religious organizations begin to receive government assistance, they become subject to government restrictions, further infringing upon the fundamental guarantees of the First Amendment.

Mr. Speaker, my faith and religious convictions are deeply held. I unequivocally support the right of all Americans to practice and express their personal religious beliefs and the right of all students to worship privately in a school setting. However, I believe that we already have a Constitution and Bill of Rights which guarantee these freedoms. We must remain vigilant and ensure that government continues to respect and protect the freedom of religious expression that has been enjoyed in America for over 200 years. But we must not allow government to become entangled with religion in such a way that the delicate balance constructed by our Founding Fathers is upset. I will therefore vote against this amendment, secure in the conviction that the deeply personal choices inherent in religious faith should remain not with government, but with the individual where they belong.

Mrs. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.J. Res. 78, the Religious Freedom Constitutional Amendment. I am proud to be an original cosponsor of this bill and would like to thank the author, Congressman ISTOOK, and Judiciary Chairman HYDE for their hard work on this critically important issue.

President Reagan once remarked, "The First Amendment of the Constitution was not written to protect the people of this country from religious values; it was written to protect religious values from government tyranny." President Reagan recognized that the Founding Fathers did not intend for the First Amendment to limit or prohibit all religious expression in public life, which has been the unfortunate interpretation of liberal courts and high-minded bureaucrats. The courts and bureaucracies have systematically eroded our First Amendment right, which is why the legislation before us today is so necessary.

One of the most glaring injustices resulting from liberal court rulings is the restriction of voluntary school prayer. It is a disgrace that the law actually discourages children from religious expression. I have authored a Constitutional Amendment, H.J. Res. 12, to reaffirm the right to voluntary school prayer, and H.J. Res. 78 would also achieve this important goal.

I urge a strong yes vote on the Religious Freedom Constitutional Amendment.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.J. Res. 78, a Constitutional Amendment restoring religious freedom, of which I am a cosponsor, because I believe strongly that it is necessary to restore the rights of individuals to freely express their religious convictions wherever they may be: the workplace, a school, or on government property.

It is essential that we ensure the religious liberties guaranteed in the Constitution to all Americans. I believe that in many instances, the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction and, in response to fears of lawsuits, government and school officials have been overly restrictive and, in many cases, have denied individuals their Constitutional rights to express their religious views in the public sphere. Also, in the workplace some employers have silenced religious expression because of fear of lawsuits by employees who are intolerant of religious expression.

It is wrong for a teacher to give a child a failing grade because the child chose to write their school assignment on Jesus Christ. It is also wrong to stop a child from saying a blessing over their meal at the school cafeteria. Also, it was wrong for the courts to rule that a moment of silence at public school is unconstitutional because it could be used by students for silent prayer. These acts have silenced religious expression and run counter to the First Amendment.

This Constitutional Amendment declares that people have a right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, traditions, and heritage on governmental property and in schools. In addition, it states that the government cannot require people to participate in religious activities, discriminate against religion, initiate or designate school prayers, or deny equal access to a benefit because of a religious affili-

ation. I rise in full support of this amendment which will remedy the damage done by past court decisions that have silenced religious expression.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution offered by my good friend from Oklahoma, Mr. ISTOOK. Our first Congress carefully drafted the First Amendment of the Constitution to include special protections for religious freedom. The government may not impose or establish religion, nor may the government restrict individuals from practicing their religion.

I believe that the First Amendment and the Equal Access Act adequately protect religious liberty in public schools and other public places. The Supreme Court already permits voluntary, individual prayer in public schools. Given the degree to which American school children and their teachers enjoy the right to freedom of religion, the proposed constitutional amendment seems entirely unnecessary.

My opposition to this proposed constitutional amendment does not reflect hostility toward religion. To the contrary, I am sure that all citizens treasure the religious freedom we enjoy in our country. For well over 200 years, the First Amendment has guaranteed our right to worship as we choose, while at the same time guaranteeing our right to be free from religious coercion. We already have a "Religious Freedom" amendment, it is the First Amendment, and it has served our nation well.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Istook Amendment. I believe prayer, reflection and spiritual observation are important individual liberties—liberties that are already protected by the First Amendment. Our First Amendment freedoms are the basis of our democratic institution. It is precisely because of these constitutionally protected freedoms that our country has flourished.

At a time when most Americans want the government to leave them alone, the Istook Amendment injects the federal government into an argument where it is not needed—to regulate prayer in our nation's classrooms. The Religious Freedom Amendment would authorize government-sponsored prayer; I think this sets a very dangerous precedent. The government should not be in the business of approving or disapproving specific prayers in public places—including schools. The government instead should be working to keep our constitutionally-protected right to freedom of religion. Today, America's school children can and do pray in their own schools, during recess, at breaks and before and after they go to school. The lesson to pray is one taught by their parents at home, not by their public school teacher.

The Istook Amendment is a threat to preserving our freedom to worship as we see fit and without government interference. Will schools and the government begin to decide which prayers and which religions are "good" for our children? In my opinion, this opens the flood gates for community division based on religious beliefs. If a school has a class of Catholic, Muslim, Baptist and Jewish students, what time do each of them pray? Are some students excused so that an organized section of school time can be set aside for a specific religion's prayer? These children now pray as

they are allowed under the First Amendment. Nothing more is necessary.

I can think of few issues other than school prayer which create such a debate on this House floor and across the Nation. I would like to point out again we already have voluntary prayer in schools. Quiet moments or periods of reflection, before school meetings and after-school religious clubs have been protected by our courts and by Congress. Thousands of students across the country are exercising their right to express and debate their religious views at school.

I am also concerned that this amendment could mandate the use of public funds to support private schools. We have many problems in our education system. We will have many more if we allow limited tax dollars to be diverted to nonpublic education. Rather than siphoning money away from public education, we should focus on fixing the problems so that all school children will benefit. It is bad public policy to abandon our federal commitment to public education. What will happen to students left behind in public schools when their resources are given away?

Mr. Speaker, America's children have all of the protection they need without further government oversight of school prayer. I urge my colleagues to vote no on the Istook Amendment.

Mr. HOSTETTLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in reluctant opposition to this amendment because I understand the motivation behind the Religious Freedom Amendment, or RFA, and share its supporter's frustration with the Supreme Court's misguided applications of the First Amendment.

But the RFA is the wrong means to instruct the Court. In fact, I fear that should the RFA be ratified, supporters of religious freedom will—for a short-term gain—jettison the very heritage they seek to protect.

My colleagues, the RFA is not a clarification of the First Amendment, it is a new amendment.

This becomes clear when we consider the establishment clause of the First Amendment, which we are today seeking to amend.

The establishment clause states, as it has since 1791, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

This clause is not without meaning.

Let us first take the term "Congress".

This term clearly limits the application of the clause to the federal legislature, not to the states. In fact many states had established religion at our nation's founding. Massachusetts, for example, paid the salaries of the Congregational ministers in that state until 1833—42 years after the ratification of the First Amendment.

Indeed, it was even proposed but then rejected by Congress to directly apply the religious clauses of the First Amendment to the States.

In 1876, eight years after ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress considered a constitutional amendment introduced by Senator James Blaine of Maine.

The Blaine amendment read: "No state shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. \* \* \* This amendment was debated at length and defeated in the Senate.

With this clear legislative precedent, one must wonder how the establishment clause came to be applied to the States.

Well, the fact is that it did not occur until 1947.

In that year, the Supreme Court—for the first time—decided that the establishment clause should apply to the states.

The Court found—despite a complete lack of historical evidence—that the phrase "liberty" in the Fourteenth Amendment included, or in their words "incorporated" the establishment clause. Keep in mind, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified eight years prior to the Blaine amendment's failed attempt to apply establishment principles to the states.

Since 1947, the Court—with its newfound power over the states—has prohibited all 50 states from allowing prayer, Bible reading, and the posting of the Ten Commandments.

What has the Supreme Court's application brought us? A severe curtailing of the public expression of religion.

As Mr. ISTOOK has pointed out, in nearly every state of the nation our local and state officials have come under the control of the Supreme Court not only out of touch with the Constitution, but also a Supreme Court with its own policy agenda.

And herein lies my first objection to the RFA.

Rather than keep the control over the public expression of religion with state and local government—as did the First Amendment until 1947—the RFA legitimizes the Supreme Court's control.

If this amendment is ratified, our states will forever lose their ability to define the appropriate level of public expression of religion.

The RFA is not a clarification, it is a new amendment.

So what did the establishment clause prohibit Congress from doing? It says "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

What is an establishment?

Clearly, it refers to the appropriate level of expression of religion either on public property, by public officials, or through public funds.

What level of public expression of religion constitutes an establishment has been the subject of much debate.

Opinions currently range from those, on the one hand, like Justice Joseph Story in 1833 and the House and Senate Judiciary Committees in 1853 and 1854, who believed that establishment means a national church or denomination, to, on the other hand, the current Supreme Court which believes that any government action that might advance religion constitutes establishment.

Whatever the historical meaning of the term "establishment," I have reservations about the RFA's apparent re-interpretation of that term.

The language of the RFA suggests that any action beyond "acknowledgment" or "recognition" of God is in violation of establishment.

Indeed the entire amendment is prefaced on the mere right to "acknowledge."

Does this mean that thirty years from now we will be told by the Supreme Court that mentioning the Bible, or wearing a cross, or crossing yourself, is prohibited by the RFA because it goes beyond acknowledgment and into the particular?

Does this mean that school prayers which go beyond simple recognition will be forbidden?

What about worship?

Time will tell.

Or maybe I should say, a future Supreme Court will tell.

The First Amendment is not the problem. The Constitution is not broken.

The problem we face is with judicial misinterpretation, or misapplication, which Congress could address, if it had the will.

What we are really doing here, my friends, is redefining the meaning of religious freedom which was cherished and flourished until 1947—when a Supreme Court on its own agenda—ventured into the policy arena.

We are limiting religious freedom under the RFA to the right to merely acknowledge or recognize.

I do not believe that the RFA will restore true religious freedom in America.

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.J. Resolution 78, the Religious Freedom Amendment. This bill will guarantee that individuals may recognize and express their religious beliefs, heritage or traditions anywhere in America, including public schools.

Let me point out that H.J. Res. 78 does not mandate religious worship in public schools, allow the government to promote religion, or force people to pay taxes to support religion. In fact, it specifically states that "the government shall not require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity."

The Bill of Rights guarantees the freedom of religion, not freedom from religion. I find it very disturbing that while the courts support the rights of everyone from flag burners to Klansmen, activist judges continue to restrict religious expression anywhere and everywhere in America.

The Amendment we are debating today is very simple. We are not just protecting any particular religion or set of beliefs. This amendment protects the very foundation this nation was built on and it should be supported by every Member of this body. Mr. Speaker, this is a subject of deep personal conviction for me. Again, I rise to support the Religious Freedom Amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DICKEY). All time for general debate has expired.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BISHOP

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BISHOP:  
Page 3, line 18, strike "acknowledge God" and insert "freedom of religion".

Page 4, beginning in line 1, strike "discriminate against religion, or deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion" and insert "or otherwise compel or discriminate against religion".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 453, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) each will control 30 minutes.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I want to make sure that everyone understands, the amendment that is offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP), which is very worthy of consideration, actually has two different topics that are addressed in it. I believe under the Rules of the House that it is proper to request a division when it comes time to vote so we will have separate vote on the first issue and then a separate vote on the second one.

I want to make a parliamentary inquiry if that is correct and if it is at this time or a later time that I need to make the request for the division.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman may make that request now.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I request that when the vote is called upon the amendment now before the House, that the question be divided so that we may vote separately on the first part relating to the mention of God, and the second part separately relating to benefits.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I would ask if this is permissible under the rule that was adopted for the consideration of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The rule does not prohibit a division of the question for the purposes of voting on the amendment.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I request that division.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question on adopting the amendment will be divided between the first instruction to strike and insert on page 3 and the second instruction to strike and insert on page 4.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very, very serious and profound amendment. And as all of the speakers thus far indicated, this is not to be taken lightly.

I offer an amendment to the Istook amendment. While I am a cosponsor of Istook, I do believe that Istook can be improved upon to meet some of the objections raised by the critics. But before I get into the details of my amendment, I would like to make some general comments.

Many years ago in England, Charles Dickens wrote in his book, *A Tale of Two Cities*, that it was the best of times and it was the worst of times. Today, here in America, I am reminded of those words, for we, too, have the best yet the worst of times.

On the one hand, times are good. The economy is booming; the stock market is soaring; employment is up; wages

are up; inflation down; interest rates down; corporate profits up. The deficit is coming down. The budget is on the way to being balanced. The major crime rate is down. More people are healthier and have access to health care than ever before. Things appear to be going well.

But, on the other hand, there are strong indicators that our morals have decayed and that too many of our children are not learning and living the high moral values and do not have the respect for human life and human property.

Youth crime and violence is up. Children are breaking and entering and stealing guns and ammunition and opening fire on their teachers and their students, and youngsters angry at parents set fire to the beds that they are sleeping in, killing them without remorse.

Drive-by shootings in urban and rural areas killing rap stars and innocent babies persist. Drugs, dropouts, hopelessness, 12- and 13-year-olds fully believing that they will not live to see their 21st birthday. Yes, it may be the best of times, but it is also the worst of times.

When I was a boy growing up in Mobile, Alabama, each and every day for 12 years I started school with The Lord's Prayer, the Twenty-third Psalm, the Pledge to the Flag, and My Country Tis of Thee. The stated moral values that are repeated day in and day out in those passages of the respect for the flag, the patriotism learned from the pledge and the song gave generations of students, including me, a foundation of character, patriotism and love for our country.

That is not so today. For over 30 years with the series of Supreme Court decisions, the pendulum has swung away from the freedom of religion that was envisioned and embraced by the Founding Fathers, to a wall of separation, of hostility and of contempt for the expression of religious faith in public places, including our schools.

There is now more protection for nude art and pornographic literature than there is for religious expressions in public places. That, Mr. Speaker, is simply not right.

So I congratulate the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) for leading the effort to restore religious freedom to our public life. I am a cosponsor of the Istook amendment, and I intend to vote for it. But I believe that it can be perfected and it can be made just a little bit better.

The first portion of my amendment, which has been asked to be divisible, would establish as the amendment's purpose to secure the people's right to freedom of religion, as opposed to the committee's version, which would secure the people's right to acknowledge God.

Because God is a term that is used in western religions to refer to a deity,

but other religious faiths use other terms rather than God, such as Allah or Vishnu or Shiva or Brahma, in the case of Hinduism, or Kami, in the case of Shintoism. And some such as Taoism do not center themselves about a deity.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that in order to make the Istook amendment more ecumenical so that it will not be targeted to those of us who share the Judeo-Christian faith but rather open to reflect the diversity of all of America's religions, I believe that it would be appropriate for us to amend that language.

The second part of my amendment would simply remove some of the language that has been criticized by speaker after speaker today, and that is the language that is called the equal advice language that would remove the denied equal advice to a benefit language and prohibit the United States or any State from requiring any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, prescribe school prayer or otherwise compel or discriminate against religion.

This would eliminate a lightning rod for litigation or what would constitute equal access. Here we are dealing with something that is obviously going to cause reasonable minds to disagree. Rather than fret over that, if we can protect religious expression and carefully crafting the language so as not to invite disagreement, I believe we can accomplish the purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I do not have all of the answers to what is happening in our society today. But I believe that the values that I learned day in and day out for 12 years reciting those passages of scripture, the prayer, pledging to the flag and singing My Country Tis of Thee helped give me a grounding in values and respect that seems to be devoid with today's generation.

It is my hope that by the adoption of the language in the Bishop amendment that we would be able to accomplish the purpose of restoring the right of people to stress their religious heritage and faith in public places, including schools, without discrimination and without the ethnocentric or Judeo-Christian emphasis on an anthropomorphic God.

I would ask the Members of this House to consider if they do not feel comfortable voting for the Istook amendment as drafted, here is something that they can vote for. It answers the problems that many of the critics have raised, and it still accomplishes the purpose.

If this amendment is adopted, our Constitution would simply have these additional words: to secure the people's right to freedom of religion according to the dictates of conscience, neither the United States nor any State shall establish any official religion, but the people's right to pray and to recognize

their religious beliefs, heritage or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, prescribe school prayers or otherwise compel or discriminate against religion.

Here we have it. Fully balancing the right to participate and to express religious traditions and faith or not to do so. Not tipping the balance one way or the other.

I would like to ask that Members consider this is not coercive, this is not a religious test for benefit of government. In fact, we remove the benefits language altogether. It is clear that there will be no establishment of a religion. It is clear that people will be allowed to recognize their beliefs and heritage on public property, including schools and that that will not be infringed.

□ 1515

How will that happen? People say we do not want to embarrass a child. This will foster diversity. One of the beautiful things about America is that we have a diverse population. And as early in life as school children can learn that there are differences that need be respected, the better we will be and the better they will be as adults. So if they can learn to hear dissenting or differing views in the proper context on an equal basis, that would, I believe, stimulate the democratic principle of diversity and would help us to have a much more congenial society, helping us to be able to disagree agreeably.

I believe that if we adopt this language, this will take place.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I do rise in opposition to this amendment. I want to acknowledge that the gentleman who is proposing this amendment has been a supporter of the underlying proposal and I appreciate his support for this proposal. I respect his motivation in offering these amendments. I understand that he believes that this is a way to improve and perhaps make the amendment somewhat less controversial, but I must strongly oppose the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia, notwithstanding my respect for his intentions.

I would just ask that the Members focus on exactly what the proposal of the gentleman from Georgia would do. It essentially has two provisions, as he has explained. I think if we look at these two provisions, we should conclude that this amendment is not worthy of adoption by the House.

The first provision in this amendment would simply remove the reference to God in the phrase "to secure

the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience." It would take that reference to God out of this proposed amendment to the United States Constitution.

The other provision that the gentleman has proposed would eliminate the prohibition on the denial of equal access to benefits on account of religion that is contained in the amendment.

I believe that both of these proposals would move the amendment in exactly the wrong direction. I would simply ask Members of the House to consider, what is the problem with recognizing the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience? I am afraid that this amendment that the gentleman is proposing fits in with the prevailing politically correct view that it is somehow inappropriate or offensive to mention God in our public life. That is one of the things that we are attempting to combat with this particular amendment.

Again, I am struck by the irony that we would be considering a proposal to remove God from the underlying amendment as we stand here in this Chamber debating, when on the wall inscribed above the Speaker's chair are the words "in God we trust."

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANADY of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is aware that nowhere in our existing Constitution now does the word "God" appear, not even in the First Amendment. And while we recognize that on our money and in the Constitutions of most States the word "God" does appear, not in the supreme law of the land, our United States Constitution.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I understand the gentleman's point, but I think that the fact is that I believe in all 50 State Constitutions reference to God is made. In our Declaration of Independence reference is made to the Creator. Throughout our life as a Nation references have been made to God in public documents and public events. So to attempt to cleanse the underlying amendment of the word "God" I think is simply moving in the wrong direction and is inconsistent with the fundamental purpose of this amendment.

I would just suggest to the Members that they look at what this amendment would do and judge it in light of the history of our Nation and in light of the 50 State Constitutions.

Turning to the second part of the amendment, which would remove the prohibition on the denial of benefits on account of religion, I would simply ask, why should anyone, any individual or any institution, be denied a benefit on account of religion? Why should we allow that to take place?

Why should any person or any institution be subjected to a disadvantage because of that person or institution's religious nature or religious activity? It seems to me to allow such a policy of disadvantaging people and institutions simply because they are religious is the antithesis of our goal of protecting the free exercise of religion. Indeed, to deny a benefit on account of religion is to punish the free exercise of religion.

I am not suggesting that the gentleman from Georgia intends to punish the free exercise of religion. I do not believe that is his intention. But I would have to submit to the gentleman and to the Members of the House that I believe that that would be the result, the unintended result of the adoption of the proposal that he is advancing.

It makes no sense to deny someone or some institution a benefit on account of religion. That is not what the First Amendment was intended to do. It is a perversion of the First Amendment that we see court decisions and other governmental decisions that have had that impact, and I believe that the underlying amendment, in its provision prohibiting the denial of equal access to benefits on account of religion, is very much on target in correcting a very real problem that exists. I would suggest that we would be stepping very much in the wrong direction to adopt the gentleman's proposal on this point.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The gentleman spoke to the striking of the portion that refers to God. It is clear that we have more religions in this country, we have a very diverse country, and that there are a number of religions where the deity is referred to by a name other than God.

The gentleman and I share a common religious heritage and of course God is certainly appropriate in our faith. However, there are other religions which we are duty bound as upholders of the Constitution, in providing equal protection of all of our laws, to support. For example, the term Allah in the religion of Islam, which they believe means the one and only God; or Vishnu, Shiva, Brahma in the case of the religion of Hinduism; Kami in the religion of Shintoism. Then there is the religion of Taoism which is not centered around a deity at all.

And with the complete diversity that our country now shares, it would seem totally inappropriate for us to introduce for the first time into the supreme law of the land, our Constitution, the word "God" to the point that it would discriminate against all of these other religious heritages and traditions. For that reason, for that reason only, we want to make it sectarian, neutral and ecumenical, so that rather than saying to secure the people's right

to acknowledge God, that we say to secure the people's right to freedom of religion and that protects whatever that person's religious heritage might be.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maine (Mr. BALDACCI).

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman's amendment is going to make some technical changes that are going to make an objectionable bill a little bit better. It is going to delete provisions saying that governments cannot deny equal access to benefits on the basis of religion. But still, in the underlying bill, as it was in 1960 for President Kennedy, as it is for us today and for the Founding Fathers when this country was established, there has been a belief in a separation of the church and State which is absolute.

This amendment is in search of a problem. It is based on the false premise that the Constitution merely prohibits the establishment of a national religion. In fact, the first Congress considered and rejected earlier drafts of the First Amendment that would have simply prohibited a national religion. So this amendment would effectively permit the government to sponsor religious expression.

The Bishop amendment is going to go to make these technical changes, but the underlying amendment to the Constitution that is being proposed is an amendment that would effectively permit the government to sponsor religious expression. Whose prayer will be used? If prayers are read over the intercom, where do students go who object to prayer going on during that time? Would the government be required to financially support religions, and which ones?

The fact remains that religion has not been shut out of the public square or public school. Court decisions have reaffirmed the right of private citizens to erect religious symbols in public areas and to have access to public facilities for religious activities. Under the Constitution as it stood for the last 200 years, individuals in public schools and other public places clearly have the right to voluntarily pray privately and individually, say grace at lunchtime, hold meetings of religious groups on school grounds, use school facilities like any other school club, and read the Bible or any religious text during study hall, other free class time or breaks.

This amendment, the underlying amendment to amend the Constitution, in fact would significantly harm, not help, religious liberty in America, and is contrary to our heritage of religious freedom that has ensured our Nation's current separation of church and state. It seems very ironic, Mr. Speaker, that in 1960 when President Kennedy was going around trying to make sure that people understood that there was a separation, that we seem to be trying to embrace it today.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MCINTOSH).

Mr. MCINTOSH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for bringing this bill to the floor. I rise in opposition to the amendment.

More than 100 years ago our young Nation faced the first great test in its dedication to the principle that all men are free. In that Civil War more than 600,000 soldiers gave up their lives, more casualties than any other war in our country's history, for the moral cause of ending slavery and securing freedom.

During that war, the abolitionist Julia Ward Howe visited a Union camp near Washington, and amidst the carnage of war, the valor and courage she saw there inspired her to write one of our Nation's favorite songs, the Battle Hymn of the Republic. The final stanza of this hymn is particularly moving to me:

"In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, with a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me. As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free, while God is marching on. Glory, glory, hallelujah."

Today in this Congress we fight a new moral battle. Through this battle we will determine whether or not our sons and daughters will be free to practice their faith in accordance with their conscience and whether the constitutional guarantees that our Founding Fathers wrote into that document of religious freedom will live on or will perish.

Over the last 30 years, the Supreme Court has failed to apply the true meaning of the First Amendment. In case after case the court has chosen to support not freedom of religion but freedom from religion. Its rulings seek to systematically wipe out any manifestation of faith from every part of the public sphere.

For example, one of the most endearing memories that I have in my first term of Congress was when I spoke to a graduating class in Triton High School at Shelby County, Indiana. Every graduating senior said a prayer for his or her classmates that day, yet the Supreme Court would not let them have a minister come and say an invocation.

□ 1545

That is freedom from religion, not freedom of religion.

In another part of my district, in Parker City, Indiana, the Indiana Civil Liberties Union sued the local school district to stop a 30-year-old tradition of staging a live nativity scene during the Christmas holidays. The court in that case forbade the children from participating in the nativity scene during school hours and banned the nativity scene from the school grounds. Again, this is not freedom of religion, it is freedom from religion.

These battles continue today. In Elkhart, Indiana, the Indiana Civil Liberties Union is suing once again, this time to remove the 10 Commandments from a pillar that was erected as a monument to World War II 40 years ago. Again, freedom from religion, not freedom of religion.

The monument in question was donated to the city by the Fraternal Order of Eagles in a Memorial Day ceremony in 1958. In that ceremony, local protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy all spoke and endorsed the monument. It happens to include two Stars of David, a Pyramid with an Eye, a Christian Kairos symbol, an eagle and a flag.

What do the opponents have against the 10 Commandments? Is it the first commandment, "You shall have no other gods before me"? Or the second commandment, "You shall make for yourself no graven image"? Or the third commandment, "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain"? Or is it the fourth commandment, "Remember the sabbath day and keep it holy"? Or the fifth commandment, "Honor your father and your mother"? Or the sixth, "Thou shalt not kill"? Or maybe the seventh commandment, "You shall not commit adultery." Is it the eighth commandment, "You shall not steal"? Or the ninth, "You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor"? Or maybe the 10th commandment, "You shall not covet your neighbor's property." What is it that they oppose from having that posted on that pillar?

America was founded so that all men and women would be free to worship God. The future of that freedom is at stake in today's vote.

My colleagues, I ask you for a moment, let us put politics aside. Above us are the words "in God we trust." I ask you to search your heart and decide whether you will be on the side of freedom or the side of repression. Will you make the same commitment today that the Union soldiers of the Civil War made 140 years ago to the freedom of all human beings?

Let us all, Republicans and Democrats, put aside politics and vote for the freedom of religion amendment. Let us restore freedom of religion and not freedom from religion in the Constitution. Let us vote yes so that when we look back on this day, it will one day be said, "As He died to make men holy, we lived to make men free."

God bless you all.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Bishop amendment. I do so because I have basically been taught that the true mark of statesmanship is to seek

common ground and find it, and then proliferate it and show it so that others can see it.

I believe that that is exactly what the Bishop amendment attempts to do. It attempts to put in broad perspective the freedoms that we have in this country to worship as each individual determines. I listened to the last speaker talk about the idea of freedom to make men holy, to make men free, to allow each and every individual to do in a way his own kind of worshiping. The only thing that I have heard today that actually would do that would be the Bishop amendment.

I would urge my colleagues, those who are in favor, those who are against the main idea, to look at the Bishop amendment as a way of providing something for everybody in America relative to religious freedom. I thank the gentleman for his amendment.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER).

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I am a little bit confused. The Istook amendment I would like if only the Baptists were protected and we can set the prayer and whatever. But that is not what we are talking about.

But the way I understand it, and I hope the gentleman from Florida is listening, he objects to taking out the word "God" in this amendment. If you do that, do you exclude the Muslims, do you exclude the Buddhists or what have you, which is not something that is high on my agenda, I do not understand those religions, but if the amendment is to have a freedom of religion, and these are classified as religions, they can only have a prayer that says "God."

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HEFNER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, no one is excluded from this protections of the amendment any more than people or ideas are excluded by the words "in God we trust" here on the wall of this Chamber.

Mr. HEFNER. The point I am trying to get at, we spend lots of money to get elected to come here. We do not have to come for the Pledge of Allegiance or whatever. But in these other areas where you are talking about, these children come and some of their parents are Muslim, all different kinds. In that context, if the word "God" is in there, then you are excluding some people. It seems to me that you would say that you will not infringe on the religious beliefs.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. If the gentleman will yield, I simply think the gentleman is mistaken about the impact of the language. No one would be excluded from the protections of this amendment. All religions would be protected, all people of faith, and, quite

frankly, people not of faith are protected.

The problem we are trying to get at in this amendment is there has been a desire to kind of exclude people of faith from the public arena and any reference to God or faith in the public arena. That is what we are trying to address. I understand the gentleman's concerns. I simply do not think they are well founded.

Mr. HEFNER. What I am getting at, a Muslim child or their parents are Buddhist, they could not say the prayer, could they?

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Again, if the gentleman will yield, that is simply not accurate.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I have to point out in response to the gentleman from Florida that it is clear from the wording of the first sentence of this amendment that everything that follows is prefaced as its purpose upon securing the people's right to acknowledge God. This is a technical amendment. I am trying to help the committee's amendment and the Istook amendment by at least making sure that no one is discriminated against, that any religious tradition or belief is protected, not just those people who want to acknowledge God, whom I would want to acknowledge, but there are Muslims, there are Taoists, there are Shintos, there are Hindus, there are Buddhists, there are Zoroasters. All of these religions deserve the same protections if they are practiced by people who have the protections of our Constitution.

Unless this language is changed, I believe that this amendment will be fatally flawed, because it is targeted solely at those people who believe in God. All I want to do through my amendment is to broaden it to the point where it protects the freedom of religion, whatever that religious tradition might be, whether it is the practice of worshiping God, as I do, or Allah or any of the other of the world's recognized religions.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON).

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I want to start off by saying I have great respect and sincerity for my friend from Georgia, but I disagree with him on this particular issue in terms of using the word "God." I think removing the word "God" is not just a casual suggestion or a technical correction. It is a very meaty change to the gist of this.

In fact, what many people want to do is acknowledge God, not to the exclusion of other religions but to say that God is the head, regardless of what you

call him. We think God is great. We think God is good. We want to have the word God in there. Guilty as charged.

The words up here that I look at, in God we trust, should we say in blank we trust? Or maybe instead of saying God Bless America in the great song, maybe we should say fill-in-the-blank bless America. Or in the Pledge of Allegiance, one Nation under fill-in-the-blank with liberty and justice for all.

At some point, you have to say, enough is enough.

Today, Mr. Speaker, we have lots of constitutional scholars. People are coming out of the woodwork as constitutional experts today. I am glad. I did not know we had 435 of them in this Chamber. It is going to be something good for all issues from here on out.

But whenever you bring out something simple, like allowing children in a school to have a student-led prayer for somebody who has a sick mother or before a football game or before a graduation, you get all these experts in there. You know, are these things really to be feared? A prayer before graduation? A prayer before a football game? Somebody's mother gets sick and you say, let us all pray for Susie's mother who was in a horrible car wreck. Are these things to be feared?

These prayers will not be headed by the teachers. The school cannot endorse a religion. The school will not be funding religions. But the rhetorical terrorists who are against this and generally against school prayer would have you believe that we are trying to publicly finance religion. It is not the case.

Vote down this amendment. Vote for the legislation. Let us give our school kids the right to enjoy prayer before football games.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the comment of my colleague from Georgia. However, I must respectfully disagree with him. This is a very fundamental question of tolerance and fairness.

I think that the intent of this amendment is good. The intent of the Istook amendment is good. I certainly intend to vote for the amendment, because I think it is high time that we protect religious freedom. However, the only way that we can protect religious freedom is to protect everyone's right to worship in his or her tradition. This use of the word capital G-o-d, God, is a term that is used in the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is not used in the Muslim tradition or the Hindu tradition or the Buddhist tradition or the Taoist tradition or the Shinto tradition.

For that reason, if we are going to be the land of the free, the home of the brave, if we are going to allow equal opportunity for all to enjoy the protections of this amendment and not just those people who believe in God, then

we ought to say, "In order to secure the people's right to freedom of religion," whatever that religion may be.

Mr. SPEAKER, may I inquire of the time remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DICKEY). The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) has 7½ minutes, and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. INGLIS) has 17 minutes.

Mr. BISHOP. Do I have the right to close, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. No, the gentleman from South Carolina has the right to close.

Mr. BISHOP. On my amendment, sir?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON).

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I respect the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP). He has talked eloquently about a very, very sensitive subject. There is no question that this amendment improves the bill. However, it does not change the basic premise of it, that is, a bill which I basically oppose.

It is hard to sort out the issues here, because both sides claim they are on the side of the righteous. Since 1995, we have had a religious equality amendment and a religious liberty amendment, and now we have got a religious freedom amendment. What are we trying to do? Who are we trying to help? What are the facts?

□ 1545

Well, the facts are, as I see them, these:

This is a constitutional amendment. It will alter the First Amendment's religious clause for as long as we can see; and, thirdly, it expands government's involvement in religious activities, and is this really what we want? When I was elected here in 1986, one of the premises on which I came down here was to try to get government out of peoples' lives.

I received a letter 2 days ago from an 83-year-old lady in my district, and let me just read you part of it:

I remember when there was mandatory prayer in my public school. Before the prayer, which was recited by the teacher, those who were non-Christians had to leave the room and stand in the hall until the prayer was over. I am a Christian, but I decried this practice then and I do now 60 years later. The Supreme Court did not take God out of our schools. Parents have taken God out of their children's lives by not praying with them. People are screaming to get the government off our backs, but they turn around now and want the government to tell our children how to pray, a function which is only between them and God.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would hasten to point out that there is nothing in the Istook amendment nor the Bishop amendment

that would require that any school child have to stand outside because they disagreed with a prayer that was being said. Nothing in this amendment would require such nonsense, and if it were ever implemented in such a way that require such nonsense, then I would be the first to urge the ACLU and every opponent to take the necessary steps to see that those school boards discontinue such practice.

Mr. Speaker, that would be nonsense to do that, and neither this amendment, the Bishop amendment, nor the Istook amendment would countenance such conduct.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT).

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, we are taking an extraordinary and an unprecedented step even though we are not actually confronted with any problem. Every study demonstrates that Americans are by far the most religious people in the industrial world. Students can voluntarily pray and study scriptures in school and other public facilities. Religious education at church and parochial schools and home is thriving. The United States remains a beacon and a sanctuary for those seeking religious freedom.

It simply is untrue to say that students are prohibited from praying in school. Indeed, Time Magazine just recently devoted an article to the explosive spread of voluntary student prayer clubs.

Now I understand the sentiments that motivate people in support of this amendment. Many of us have the feeling that families have weakened, that morality is not what it once was, that society has become more violent. But these problems cannot be addressed by eliminating basic constitutional protections.

Let us not allow legitimate concerns about morality to curdle into an effort to restrain religious freedom. Americans are already God-fearing people. There is no reason to make them fear their Constitution.

#### PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. EDWARDS. Parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DICKEY). The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire, as we debate this fundamental issue dealing with whether the word "God" should be in our Constitution and the issue of whether there should be funding of religious organizations with taxpayer dollars, that fundamental issue, do I understand that under the rules of this bill, that Democrats who would respect the point of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) but who would oppose his

amendment were not given any block of time? Is that correct?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time was divided under the rule.

Mr. EDWARDS. So under the rule on this fundamental issue dealing with the Constitution and the First Amendment, Democrats were not given a block of time to even debate this issue which, regardless of one's point of view, is an extremely important debate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It was not directed to any one side. It was divided between the proponent of the amendment and a Member opposed.

Mr. EDWARDS. I understand. Mr. Speaker, I think that makes my point.

Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I think this is an important amendment because really it goes right to the heart of what we are talking about here. What the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) would like to do is strike out the words "to acknowledge God" and to replace them with a more generic sounding series of words, and really that is sort of the nub of the issue about this amendment. I think that this is why the underlying language is the better language rather than the proposed amendment.

The reason for that is this: I think the Founding Fathers fully anticipated that there would be a public expression of a private faith. They did not want a public expression of a public faith. They had experience with that, with the king, and they did not like that. It turned out to be a corrupt system, really more corrupting the church than the state.

But they did not want that. They did not want a public expression of a public faith, but they surely expected a public expression of a private faith, and that is what we are here debating, is the ability of Americans to express their private faith publicly, to go to the public square and to have the rights that everyone else has in the public square.

Now I think if the Founding Fathers were here present they would think, now this is rather strange that they are taking time on the floor to discuss this because surely this is what we intended, a public expression of a private faith. Why do they need to reiterate this? Well, the reason is unfortunately a series of decisions and a whole milieu that is created out of those decisions makes it so that we have to reiterate this.

The last speaker at this podium said something about the explosive growth of prayer groups in schools and the ability of students to pray. Well I think it is interesting. Yesterday I met with a recent graduate of Riverside High School in Greenville, South Carolina, a young man named Allan Barton. Allan formed a Bible club at school, and as my colleagues know, in what some would consider the shiny buckle

on the Bible Belt, that is, my hometown, they were not allowed to meet.

In fact, the principal of the school said, "Oh, my goodness, horrors. No, we couldn't do that." The school board said they could not do that, and it took this high school student, Allan Barton, courageously and not in a militant way, but rather in an appropriate and a respectful way going before the school board repeatedly to say, "Please, let us get together as a group of students and study our Bibles just like the chess club can get together."

As my colleagues know, it is interesting that again in what some people would consider the shining buckle in the Bible Belt, it was a split decision at the school board. It was a close vote as to whether this student would be allowed to have a Bible club at Riverside High School. Well, thankfully we won, and yesterday I presented him with a certificate thanking him for his work on establishing the principle of religious freedom in Greenville, South Carolina, at Riverside High School.

Now what I think this indicates is we have come a long way. This started out saying the Founding Fathers thought we had a public expression of a private faith. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) wants to take out those words and make it more generic so that basically we are not acknowledging God, we are sort of acknowledging something generic.

Well, I think that is a mistake because what we are trying to do here is say clearly to Allan Barton at Riverside High School, "Allan, you're right. You obviously have a right to meet equal to the right of the chess club."

Now thankfully the school board in Greenville decided to go along with him, but that was after the American Center for Law and Justice threatened to sue, and it should not be that it takes a threat of a lawsuit in order to enforce our constitutional rights. In fact, we should be able to exercise those rights without seeking redress to the courts. These are rights under the Constitution.

So I would ask my colleagues to vote against the Bishop amendment and vote for the underlying language because we need to reestablish this principle.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, the previous speaker apparently is a little bit confused in suggesting that we would in our amendment take out the word "God" and acknowledge something generic. All we are trying to acknowledge in the language that would be substituted is the title of the very amendment that we are voting on, the Religious Freedom Amendment, and we are saying that the purpose is to secure freedom of religion. It is titled the Religious Freedom Amendment, RFA.

Why that would be ironic or contrary to the desires of people who want to

have the Religious Freedom Amendment passed, I do not know. It seems to me to make good sense. It is ecumenical. It will support and protect the religious traditions of all people, not just those people who believe in the God, capital G-O-D. It would reflect those who believe in any other deity or no deity.

I personally am Christian. I believe in God, in Jesus. However there are others who do not, and I respect their right under this Constitution of the United States to that belief.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to focus on the words behind you, and I sure do not want to change it to "In Religious Freedom We Trust." It has the word "God" in it. And Lewis Farrakhan, time after time I have heard him refer to God. When I was in Egypt President Sadat said, "Intrahlah," which means, "In God we trust," and that was out of his own words "in God." Mostafa Arab on my staff at National University came to me and asked me, said, "Duke, can I pray to my God?" which was Allah, and I think that is correct. I think by using the word God, if the gentleman were saying Jesus Christ, then maybe he would have a point, but we use God for all different religions, and from what I have heard all different religions use God.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield? I will yield him back the same amount of time I consume.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) has expired.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

In the context of this amendment it is spelled capital G-O-D, which is specific, as opposed to the context in which the conversation the gentleman had where it was used, it was a small g-o-d; to my god, it would be a small g-o-d. In that context it is not universal.

In the context that we want to put it in the Constitution it should be universal, and that is why we are asking to substitute that language of the Religious Freedom Amendment, to protect, to secure freedom of religion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) has expired.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. In Vietnam even Buddhists dispense with the "God", and I do not know of any religion that uses "God" with a little G. To all of us it is a big G just like it is up here, and let us not change this to religious freedom. Let us keep it "In God We Trust."

□ 1600

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, in Islam, the god is Allah, which means the one and only god, with a small "g."

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT).

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank all of the participants for this debate today. I think this is a very important debate.

Just the other night, all of us were invited to a presentation by the local public television station. They are doing a three-part series on the Face of Russia. It was interesting, because the public television group has gone over there. They spent 5 years making this film. And on the cover of this invitation, there is a picture, a replication, of the Holy Icon of Vladimir.

Now, they also asked us to watch an 18-minute video which talked about Russian culture. In that video, fully two-thirds of the time was taken talking about the influence of religion on the Russian culture. Perhaps I was the only one in that audience, knowing that we were going to have this debate later on this week, who saw the irony, that you cannot talk about the culture of Russia without a serious discussion of the effects of religion on that culture. Yet here in the United States we are almost barred today from having an honest discussion of the influences religion has had in our culture.

That is why I think this is an important debate.

We can debate, and I think the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP) is, in effect, saying, yes, it is time that we have this debate; the courts have gone too far. And we can argue about the language, and perhaps this amendment will not pass today, but this is not the end, this is the beginning of a very important debate to return some form of balance to our public discourse and the influence that religion has on our culture.

Let me also suggest it was about a year ago that his All Holiness, Bartholomew, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church, came to this Capitol and received the Congressional Gold Medal. When he gave his remarks after receiving that medal, he said some very important things. He talked about religion in the Eastern European continent, particularly in Russia, and what an influence religion had had.

When his All Holiness closed his remarks that day, he closed with a very powerful statement, because he said that he had been following the religion and the effects of communism on religion in the Eastern Bloc, and he said this, and we ought to all be reminded. He said, "Faith can survive without freedom, but freedom cannot long survive without faith."

I think that is important for us to discuss as we discuss this important

amendment. This is a very important discussion. It is time for us to restore balance in the public square and the influence that religion has had upon our culture.

I thank the gentleman for bringing this amendment forward, and I thank the gentlemen for the debate.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to, first of all, thank the committee for giving us this opportunity to debate this very, very important issue. I would like to thank the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) for his courage in bringing the matter forward. I would like to thank the ranking member, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) and his staff, and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) and his staff for the courtesies they have offered to me in helping us get to the floor with this, as well as the chair of the Committee on Rules and the Committee on Rules for their kindness and courtesy in helping us fashion this debate so that we could have a full and thorough discussion.

Mr. Speaker, I return back to my opening remarks, that it is the best of times, yet it is the worst of times. We have a great economy, things are going well, but we also have a society that has deteriorating moral values. Our youth seem not to have the values of generations past, and unless we try to recapture those values, our society will be lost.

I believe the 30 years of Supreme Court rulings that have erected this artificial wall between our religious faith and traditions and our public life and our schoolchildren has led us down a primrose path to destruction, and I regret that very much. I hope that through the passage of this amendment, perfected by the Bishop amendment, that we will be able to stem that tide and we can move America into the next millennium with a glorious and bright future.

As I prepare to take my seat and close, I do not know whether this amendment will pass or not, but I leave you with the words that come from one of the Hebrew writers in the Book of Chronicles: "If My people which are called by My name shall humble themselves and pray and seek My face and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven, will forgive their sins, and will heal their land."

Let us pass a religious freedom amendment. Let us pass the best possible religious freedom amendment, and hopefully it, in part, along with our other efforts, will help to heal our land.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WICKER). The gentleman from Oklahoma is recognized for 6½ minutes.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, let me begin with the highest words of praise for the chief Democratic cosponsor of this legislation, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP). I have the highest, highest opinion of his courage, his commitment, his dedication, his efforts.

I know it has been a difficult experience, some of the experiences which the gentleman has gone through on this, and I appreciate his efforts to try to make sure that this legislation is in the best possible form.

As we all know, we are part of the process that includes consideration of the constitutional amendment not only by the House but by the Senate, and we go through a perfecting process, trying to listen at every stage, trying to learn from that.

When I began efforts on this amendment about 4 years ago, we frequently had meetings with 40 or 50 people at a time to try to get a multitude of opinions, and some did not necessarily support the effort. I met with them privately. I met with people who were adamantly in favor of the status quo and did not want anything done. I still met with them.

I even went to the national convention of the group which has financed and pushed so many of these lawsuits. It is a kind of an offshoot of the ACLU called Americans United for Separation of Church and State. I accepted an invitation they were gracious enough to extend to speak to them at their national convention. It was not exactly a friendly reception. But we have all sought to listen and learn, and the lesson ought to be that we ought to understand to be tolerant.

As the Supreme Court justices who dissented from these decisions said, if we will listen to one another, we will develop not just a tolerance but an affection for each other's faith, rather than trying to conceal the fact that there are some differences.

Justice Potter Stewart dissented from the original school prayer cases, saying you cannot conceal the fact that there are differences, and if you try to conceal it and keep it out of the schools, all you will do is make the problem worse. And the problem has become worse, with people saying, I have a right to shut you up because I do not like the way you may pray or maybe I do not like prayer at all.

Now, the amendments of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP), I do not favor them, but I told the Committee on Rules and everyone for years, I support his right to offer those and make sure important issues are addressed.

I believe that we should do what every State in the Union does, which is have an expressed reference to God in

the Constitution. In 42 of the 50 States, they do not say "creator," they do not say "supreme ruler of the universe," they say either "God" or "Almighty God," and I think that it is proper and in tune with the best traditions of this country to say the same thing.

There is no functional difference between this and the language of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP), but I do think there is an important thing that resonates with the American people. Regarding the language should government benefits be denied to someone on account of religion, should they? We already have Supreme Court decisions that permit it. But the Supreme Court has been going back and forth on it.

We have hundreds of millions of dollars each year that go into social service programs run by churches, including over \$1 billion a year to Catholic Charities, USA. We have Pell grants, student loans and GI benefits that go not only to public universities and colleges but also to church ones, whether it be the university where I attended, Baylor University, or Georgetown or Notre Dame or Southern Methodist or whatever it might be.

This is nothing new or different. We are not talking about funding religious activity. But there have been a series of court attacks, and the court's rulings have been one of these precarious 5-4, and this time 5-4 in favor of it, and we wanted to preserve that, lest the court go off and say, we are going to start saying if your group is connected with a religion you are disqualified from any sort of Federal benefit program.

So I know that it invites people to try to claim that we are financing churches, which is not the case whatsoever. We are not requiring any money to go to any group. We are just saying if the government funds some activity for some public purpose, then you do not disqualify somebody from participating just because they may be related to church.

It might be useful to look at the cover story of Newsweek Magazine this week, which is about this very thing, how groups fighting crime, fighting drugs, fighting teenage pregnancy have such higher success rates if they are based in churches and they are faith-based.

We want those programs to be able to continue, because they are good and because they work, and they work so much better because they appeal to values. That is why some people, perhaps, are afraid of prayer in school, because they say, my goodness, the idea of talking about values is threatening.

Sure, parents ought to be talking about it. But do we say that parents, you do your job at home and, by the way, we are going to take your child away for most of the day and put him in school, where they do not have the

possibility of the same influences and the same values that you taught at home?

That is the captive audience; not the "captive audience" so-called of someone who says, "I do not want to hear a prayer; therefore, these court decisions give me the right to make you stop it."

What has happened to our society as that has happened? Look at the guns, the knives, the drugs, the teenage pregnancies in public schools, and you tell me we do not need to make sure that values are repeated every time we can?

And you cannot separate them. You cannot separate them from the moral basis, and you cannot separate a moral basis from a religious basis. Government should never insist, never, never, never, never, never, that people have a particular faith or they be compelled to pray, and this amendment makes sure they never will. But it stops the practice of government interfering and silencing people.

Mr. Speaker, I am thankful for the opportunity to present this. I urge Members, with or without the Bishop amendments, to vote for the Religious Freedom Amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for the debate on the amendment has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 453, the previous question is ordered on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP).

The question on adopting the amendment has been divided between the first instruction to strike and insert, on page 3 of the joint resolution, and the second instruction to strike and insert, on page 4 of the joint resolution.

The question is on the first divided portion of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP).

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

Without objection, after this 15-minute vote on the first divided portion of the Bishop amendment, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote on the second divided portion of the amendment.

There was no objection.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 6, nays 419, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 198]

YEAS—6

Bishop	Fawell	Jefferson
Davis (IL)	Hoyer	Lantos

NAYS—419

Abercrombie	Deutsch	Johnson (CT)
Ackerman	Diaz-Balart	Johnson (WI)
Aderholt	Dickens	Johnson, E. B.
Allen	Dicks	Johnson, Sam
Andrews	Dingell	Jones
Archer	Dixon	Kanjorski
Armey	Doggett	Kaptur
Bachus	Dooley	Kasich
Baesler	Doollittle	Kelly
Baker	Doyle	Kennedy (MA)
Baldacci	Dreier	Kennedy (RI)
Ballenger	Duncan	Kennelly
Barcia	Dunn	Kildee
Barr	Edwards	Kilpatrick
Barrett (NE)	Ehlers	Kim
Barrett (WI)	Ehrlich	Kind (WI)
Bartlett	Emerson	King (NY)
Barton	Engel	Kingston
Bass	English	Kleczka
Bateman	Ensign	Klink
Becerra	Eshoo	Klug
Bentsen	Etheridge	Knollenberg
Bereuter	Evens	Kolbe
Berman	Everett	Kucinich
Berry	Ewing	LaFalce
Bilbray	Farr	LaHood
Bilirakis	Fattah	Lampson
Blagojevich	Fazio	Largent
Bliley	Flner	Latham
Blumenauer	Foley	LaTourrette
Blunt	Forbes	Lazio
Boehlert	Ford	Leach
Boehner	Fossella	Lee
Bonilla	Fowler	Levin
Bonior	Fox	Lewis (CA)
Bono	Frank (MA)	Lewis (KY)
Borski	Franks (NJ)	Linder
Boswell	Frelinghuysen	Lipinski
Boucher	Frost	Livingston
Boyd	Gallegly	LoBiondo
Brady (PA)	Ganske	Lofgren
Brady (TX)	Gedjenson	Lowe
Brown (CA)	Gekas	Lucas
Brown (FL)	Gephardt	Luther
Brown (OH)	Gibbons	Maloney (CT)
Bryant	Gilchrist	Maloney (NY)
Bunning	Gillmor	Manton
Burr	Gilman	Manzullo
Burton	Goode	Markey
Buyer	Goodlatte	Martinez
Callahan	Goodling	Mascara
Calvert	Gordon	Matsui
Camp	Goss	McCarthy (MO)
Campbell	Graham	McCarthy (NY)
Canady	Granger	McCollum
Cannon	Green	McCrery
Capps	Greenwood	McDermott
Cardin	Gutierrez	McGovern
Carson	Gutknecht	McHale
Castle	Hall (OH)	McHugh
Chabot	Hall (TX)	McInnis
Chambliss	Hamilton	McIntosh
Chenoweth	Hansen	McIntyre
Christensen	Harman	McKeon
Clay	Hastert	McNulty
Clayton	Hastings (FL)	Meehan
Clement	Hastings (WA)	Meek (FL)
Clyburn	Hayworth	Meeks (NY)
Coble	Hefley	Menendez
Coburn	Hefner	Metcalf
Collins	Hergert	Mica
Combest	Hill	Millender-
Condit	Hilleary	McDonald
Conyers	Hilliard	Miller (CA)
Cook	Hinchee	Miller (FL)
Cooksey	Hinojosa	Minge
Costello	Hobson	Mink
Cox	Hoekstra	Moakley
Coyne	Holden	Moran (KS)
Cramer	Hooley	Moran (VA)
Crane	Horn	Morella
Crapo	Hostettler	Murtha
Cubin	Houghton	Myrick
Cummings	Hulshof	Nadler
Cunningham	Hunter	Neal
Danner	Hutchinson	Nethercutt
Davis (FL)	Hyde	Neumann
Davis (VA)	Ingalls	Ney
Deal	Istook	Northup
DeFazio	Jackson (IL)	Norwood
DeGette	Jackson-Lee	Nussle
DeLauro	(TX)	Obey
DeLay	Jenkins	Oliver
	John	

Ortiz	Ryun	Stupak
Owens	Sabo	Sununu
Oxley	Salmon	Talent
Packard	Sánchez	Tanner
Pallone	Sanders	Tauscher
Pappas	Sandlin	Tauzin
Parker	Sanford	Taylor (MS)
Pascrell	Sawyer	Taylor (NC)
Pastor	Saxton	Thomas
Paul	Scarborough	Thompson
Paxon	Schaefer, Dan	Thornberry
Payne	Schaffer, Bob	Thune
Pease	Schumer	Thurman
Pelosi	Scott	Tiahrt
Peterson (MN)	Sensenbrenner	Tierney
Peterson (PA)	Serrano	Torres
Petri	Sessions	Towns
Pickering	Shadegg	Traficant
Pickett	Shaw	Turner
Pitts	Shays	Upton
Pombo	Sherman	Velázquez
Pomeroy	Shimkus	Vento
Porter	Shuster	Visclosky
Portman	Siskisly	Walsh
Poshard	Skaggs	Wamp
Price (NC)	Skeen	Waters
Pryce (OH)	Skelton	Watkins
Quinn	Slaughter	Watt (NC)
Radanovich	Smith (MI)	Watts (OK)
Rahall	Smith (NJ)	Waxman
Ramstad	Smith (OR)	Weldon (FL)
Rangel	Smith (TX)	Weldon (PA)
Redmond	Smith, Adam	Weller
Regula	Smith, Linda	Wexler
Riggs	Snowbarger	Weygand
Riley	Snyder	White
Rivers	Solomon	Whitfield
Rodriguez	Souder	Wicker
Roemer	Spence	Wise
Rogan	Spratt	Wolf
Rogers	Stabenow	Woolsey
Rohrabacher	Stark	Wynn
Rothman	Stearns	Yates
Roukema	Stenholm	Young (AK)
Roybal-Allard	Stokes	Young (FL)
Royce	Strickland	
Rush	Stump	

NOT VOTING—8

Furse	McDade	Reyes
Gonzalez	McKinney	Ros-Lehtinen
Lewis (GA)	Mollohan	

□ 1633

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas and Messrs. OXLEY, ANDREWS, BILBRAY and SOUDER changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. Jefferson changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the first divided portion of the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WICKER). The question is on the second divided portion of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP).

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a five-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 23, noes 399, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 199]

AYES—23

Berry	Clayton	Ehrlich
Bishop	Clyburn	Fawell
Boucher	Danner	Fowler

Green  
Jefferson  
Johnson, E. B.  
Klink  
Lazio

Martinez  
Ortiz  
Paul  
Payne  
Scott

Spratt  
Tanner  
Watt (NC)  
Wynn

Ney  
Northup  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oberstar

Rothman  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Rush

Stenholm  
Stokes  
Strickland  
Stump  
Stupak

NOES—399

Abercrombie  
Ackerman  
Aderholt  
Allen  
Andrews  
Archer  
Army  
Bachus  
Baesler  
Baker  
Baldacci  
Ballenger  
Barcia  
Barr  
Barrett (NE)  
Barrett (WI)  
Bartlett  
Barton  
Bass  
Bateman  
Beceira  
Bentsen  
Bereuter  
Berman  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis  
Blagojevich  
Bliley  
Blumenauer  
Blunt  
Boehlert  
Boehner  
Bonilla  
Bonior  
Bono  
Borski  
Boswell  
Boyd  
Brady (PA)  
Brady (TX)  
Brown (CA)  
Brown (FL)  
Bryant  
Bunning  
Burr  
Burton  
Buyer  
Callahan  
Calvert  
Camp  
Campbell  
Canady  
Cannon  
Capps  
Cardin  
Carson  
Castle  
Chabot  
Chambliss  
Chenoweth  
Christensen  
Clay  
Clement  
Coble  
Coburn  
Collins  
Combust  
Condit  
Conyers  
Cook  
Cooksey  
Costello  
Cox  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crapo  
Cubin  
Cummings  
Cunningham  
Davis (FL)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis (VA)  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Delahunt  
DeLauro

DeLay  
Deutsch  
Diaz-Balart  
Dickey  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Doolittle  
Doyle  
Duncan  
Dunn  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Emerson  
Engel  
English  
Ensign  
Eshoo  
Etheridge  
Evans  
Everett  
Ewing  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fazio  
Filner  
Foley  
Forbes  
Ford  
Fossella  
Fox  
Frank (MA)  
Franks (NJ)  
Frellinghuysen  
Frost  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gejdenson  
Gekas  
Gephardt  
Gibbons  
Gilchrest  
Gillmor  
Gilman  
Goode  
Goodlatte  
Goodling  
Gordon  
Goss  
Graham  
Granger  
Greenwood  
Gutierrez  
Gutknecht  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hamilton  
Hansen  
Harman  
Hastert  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Hefner  
Herger  
Hill  
Hilleary  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hinojosa  
Hobson  
Hoekstra  
Holden  
Hooley  
Horn  
Hostettler  
Houghton  
Hoyer  
Hulshof  
Hutchinson  
Hyde  
Inglis  
Istook  
Jackson (IL)

Jackson-Lee  
(TX)  
Jenkins  
John  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (WI)  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kasich  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
Kilpatrick  
Kim  
Kind (WI)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Klecicka  
Kling  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
Kucinich  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lampson  
Lantos  
Largent  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Leach  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Linder  
Lipinski  
Livingston  
LoBlondo  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Lucas  
Luther  
Maloney (CT)  
Maloney (NY)  
Manton  
Manzullo  
Mascara  
Matsui  
McCarthy (MO)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum  
McCreery  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McHale  
McHugh  
McInnis  
McIntosh  
McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek (FL)  
Meeks (NY)  
Menendez  
Metcalfe  
Mica  
Millender-  
McDonald  
Miller (CA)  
Miller (FL)  
Minge  
Mink  
Moakley  
Moran (KS)  
Moran (VA)  
Morella  
Murtha  
Myrick  
Nadler  
Neal  
Nethercutt  
Neumann

Packard  
Pallone  
Pappas  
Parker  
Pascrell  
Pastor  
Paxon  
Pease  
Pelosi  
Peterson (MN)  
Peterson (PA)  
Petri  
Pickering  
Pickett  
Pitts  
Pombo  
Pomeroy  
Porter  
Portman  
Poshard  
Price (NC)  
Pryce (OH)  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Rahall  
Ramstad  
Rangel  
Redmond  
Regula  
Riley  
Rivers  
Rodriguez  
Roemer  
Rogan  
Rogers  
Rohrabacher

Salmon  
Sanchez  
Sanders  
Sandlin  
Sanford  
Sawyer  
Saxton  
Scarborough  
Schaefer, Dan  
Schaffer, Bob  
Schumer  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Sessions  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Shays  
Sherman  
Shimkus  
Shuster  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Skeen  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (OR)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith, Adam  
Smith, Linda  
Snowbarger  
Snyder  
Solomon  
Souder  
Spence  
Stabenow  
Stark  
Stearns

Thornberry  
Thune  
Thurman  
Tiahrt  
Tierney  
Torres  
Towns  
Traficant  
Turner  
Upton  
Velazquez  
Vento  
Visclosky  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Waters  
Watkins  
Watts (OK)  
Waxman  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
Wexler  
Weygand  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wise  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Yates  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

Brown (OH)  
Dreier  
Furse  
Gonzalez

NOT VOTING—11

Hunter  
Lewis (GA)  
Markey  
McDade

□ 1643

Mr. ROUKEMA changed her vote from "aye" to "no."

So the second divided portion of the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

□ 1645

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the previous question is ordered on the joint resolution, as amended.

The question is on engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. SCOTT

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SCOTT moves to recommit the joint resolution H.J. Res. 78 to the Committee on the Judiciary with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of its submission for ratification:

"ARTICLE —

"Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CANADY) will each be recognized for 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT).

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, this motion to recommit simply restates the first amendment to the Constitution which, as we know, says: Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Any further amendments to our Constitution in the guise of protecting religious liberty are unnecessary.

Mr. Speaker, under current law, students can pray and read the Bible privately; they can say grace at lunch and distribute religious materials to their friends and join voluntary religious clubs. The United States Department of Education has issued guidelines on religious expression that have been mailed to 15,000 public school districts in the Nation making it clear that schools are not religious-free zones.

In those few instances where a student's religious speech has been unfairly denied, the law already has sufficient remedy. Education is the key to correcting the mistakes of teachers and educators, not an attack on the Bill of Rights.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCOTT. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. For 207 years those eloquent words embedded in our Bill of Rights have protected America's religious freedom. Perhaps the single greatest contribution of our experiment as a Nation and democracy is the contribution of the freedom, the religious freedom that we have ensured to all of our citizens from all backgrounds as a result of these very words.

Today, Mr. Speaker, we have heard Members say they admire the Bill of Rights. We have heard Members say they cherish the Bill of Rights. We have heard Members say they respect the Bill of Rights. Well, now all the Members of this House today will have the right to vote for the Bill of Rights; and not only the Bill of Rights, but the first 16 words of the first amendment dealing with religious liberty.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very clear vote. It is very simple. If Members vote for this motion to recommit, they are voting to endorse the first 16 words of the first amendment. If they vote no and then vote for the Istook amendment, they are voting to change the Bill of Rights for the first time in our Nation's history.

But what I would suggest at this moment that the Bill of Rights needs is not just respect or just those who cherish it or admire it, but the Bill of Rights deserves Members of this House voting for it. I urge a vote for the motion to recommit.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, the first amendment to the Constitution and the first 16 words of the Bill of Rights have never been amended. They have served us well for over 200 years. This first amendment offers us all the protection we need against religious discrimination and to avoid the strife which has saddled other areas of the world with religious strife, killings, murders for many years.

I urge my colleagues to support the motion to recommit and to reaffirm our belief in the first amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman has indicated, the motion to recommit would simply result in the reenactment of language that is already in the Constitution in the first amendment to the Constitution.

As we have discussed repeatedly throughout this debate, those of us who are in support of the underlying proposal find no fault with the first amendment to the United States Constitution. We believe that the framers of the first amendment were wise in the words they chose. The problem we have is with the interpretation that the courts and various other government officials have placed on those words of the first amendment.

Now, the truth of the matter is, if the motion to recommit were to be adopted, it would simply endorse the status quo. It would simply endorse all of the decisions that have trampled on the free exercise of religion in this country. It would endorse a situation which we are faced with in this country today where students giving commencement addresses are faced with the prospect of being fined by a Federal court if they mention the name of God. That is what is going on. That is what courts in this land are doing, and it is not right.

It is not what the Founders intended. It is not what the framers of the first amendment intended. It is wrong, it is an injustice, and we have a responsibility to correct it.

The Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary held hearings all over this country. We heard from more than 70 witnesses. Many of those people who came to tes-

tify before the subcommittee told us of the ways in which their religious freedom had been trampled on under the status quo, and we need to do something about it.

Mr. Speaker, we are the people's House. We have a responsibility to ensure that the rights of the people, the free exercise of religion are respected in this country. And people who want to reinforce protection for religious freedom will reject the status quo. They will reject this motion to recommit and will support the bill.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANADY of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, a vote for the motion to recommit is a vote for the status quo. It is a vote for all the court decisions that have restricted religious liberty. It is a vote for the Stone v. Graham case whereby, 5 to 4, the Supreme Court said the Ten Commandments cannot be on the wall of a public school. Four justices said they could stay; 5 said they have to come down. If Members vote yes, they are voting they have to stay down.

A vote for this is a vote for the Lee v. Weisman decision, where they said that a Jewish rabbi's prayer at a school graduation was unconstitutional, a 5-4 decision. If Members vote for the motion to recommit, they are voting for the five Justices that said the rabbi could not pray with these kids at that graduation. If they vote against it, they are voting for the four Justices that said it was wrong.

We have had a lot of court decisions. If Members vote for this motion to recommit, they are endorsing each and every one of them.

They are endorsing the decision where Judge DeMint in Alabama ruled in Federal court that the schools are permanently enjoined, Members would be endorsing the court interpretation under which he issued an order which reads that the schools are permanently enjoined from permitting prayers, biblical and scriptural readings and other presentations or activities of a religious nature at all school-sponsored or school-initiated assemblies and events including, but not limited to, sporting events, regardless of whether the activity takes place during instructional time, regardless of whether attendance is compulsory or noncompulsory and regardless of whether the speaker is a student, school official, or nonschool person.

That is what they are doing under the misinterpretations of the first amendment. That is why we need the Religious Freedom Amendment.

If Members want to keep with the current court decisions, tell that to this first grader, Zachariah Hood, who was told he could not read a story from the Beginner's Bible that did not even mention God but was told by a Federal

judge he cannot read that story at school. Not because there is really anything religious about the particular story he chose but simply because it came from the Beginner's Bible.

That is what the courts are doing and twisting and distorting the first amendment and what is meant to be a guarantee of religious freedom in the United States. That is why Members should vote no on the motion to recommit and yes for the Religious Freedom Amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

#### RECORDED VOTE

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule XV, the Chair will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device, if ordered, will be taken on the question of passage of the joint resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 203, noes 223, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 200]

#### AYES—203

Abercrombie	Doyle	Kaptur
Ackerman	Edwards	Kelly
Allen	Engel	Kennedy (MA)
Andrews	Ensign	Kennedy (RI)
Baldacci	Eshoo	Kennelly
Barrett (WI)	Etheridge	Kildee
Becerra	Evans	Kilpatrick
Bentsen	Farr	Kind (WI)
Berman	Fattah	Klecicka
Bilbray	Fawell	Klink
Blagojevich	Fazio	Kucinich
Blumenauer	Filner	LaFalce
Boehler	Forbes	Lampson
Bonior	Ford	Lantos
Borski	Fox	Leach
Boswell	Frank (MA)	Lee
Boucher	Franks (NJ)	Levin
Boyd	Frelinghuysen	Lewis (CA)
Brady (PA)	Frost	Lofgren
Brown (CA)	Gejdenson	Lowe
Brown (FL)	Gephardt	Luther
Brown (OH)	Gilchrest	Maloney (CT)
Capps	Gilman	Maloney (NY)
Cardin	Green	Manton
Carson	Greenwood	Markey
Castle	Gutierrez	Martinez
Clay	Hall (OH)	Mascara
Clayton	Hamilton	Matsui
Clyburn	Harman	McCarthy (MO)
Conyers	Hastings (FL)	McCarthy (NY)
Costello	Hefner	McDermott
Coyne	Hilliard	McGovern
Cummings	Hinche	McHale
Danner	Hinojosa	McKinney
Davis (FL)	Holden	McNulty
Davis (IL)	Hoolley	Meehan
DeFazio	Horn	Meek (FL)
DeGette	Hoyer	Meeks (NY)
Delahunt	Jackson (IL)	Menendez
DeLauro	Jackson-Lee	Millender-
Deutsch	(TX)	McDonald
Dicks	Jefferson	Miller (CA)
Dingell	Johnson (CT)	Minge
Dixon	Johnson (WI)	Mink
Doggett	Johnson, E. B.	Moakley
Dooley	Kanjorski	Moran (VA)

Morella  
Murtha  
Nadler  
Neal  
Northup  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Olver  
Ortiz  
Owens  
Pallone  
Pascrell  
Pastor  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Pickett  
Pomeroy  
Porter  
Poshard  
Price (NC)  
Rangel  
Rivers  
Rodriguez

Rothman  
Roybal-Allard  
Rush  
Sabo  
Sánchez  
Sanders  
Sawyer  
Saxton  
Schumer  
Scott  
Serrano  
Shays  
Sherman  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Slaughter  
Smith, Adam  
Snyder  
Spratt  
Stabenow  
Stark  
Stokes  
Strickland

Stump  
Stupak  
Tanner  
Tauscher  
Thompson  
Thurman  
Tierney  
Torres  
Towns  
Velázquez  
Vento  
Visclosky  
Waters  
Watt (NC)  
Waxman  
Wexler  
Weygand  
Wise  
Woolsey  
Wynn  
Yates

Walsh  
Wamp  
Watkins  
Watts (OK)  
Weldon (FL)

Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker

Wolf  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

Riggs  
Riley  
Roemer  
Rogan  
Rogers  
Rohrabacher  
Roukema  
Royce  
Ryun  
Salmon  
Sandlin  
Sanford  
Scarborough  
Schaefer, Dan  
Schaffer, Bob  
Sensenbrenner  
Sessions  
Shadegg  
Shimkus  
Shuster

Skeen  
Skelton  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (OR)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith, Linda  
Snowbarger  
Solomon  
Souder  
Spence  
Stearns  
Stenholm  
Sununu  
Talent  
Tanner  
Tauzin  
Taylor (MS)  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas

Thompson  
Thornberry  
Thune  
Tiahrt  
Trafcant  
Turner  
Upton  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Watkins  
Watts (OK)  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wolf  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—7

Furse  
Gonzalez  
Lewis (GA)

McDade  
Mollohan  
Reyes

Ros-Lehtinen

□ 1714

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WICKER). The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered. The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 224, noes 203, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 201]

AYES—224

Aderholt  
Archer  
Army  
Bachus  
Baesler  
Baker  
Ballenger  
Barcia  
Barr  
Barrett (NE)  
Bartlett  
Barton  
Bass  
Bateman  
Bereuter  
Berry  
Bilirakis  
Bishop  
Bliley  
Blunt  
Boehner  
Bonilla  
Bono  
Brady (TX)  
Bryant  
Bunning  
Burton  
Buyer  
Callahan  
Calvert  
Camp  
Campbell  
Canady  
Cannon  
Chabot  
Chambliss  
Chenoweth  
Christensen  
Clement  
Coble  
Coburn  
Collins  
Combest  
Condit  
Cook  
Cooksey  
Cox  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crapo  
Cubin  
Cunningham  
Davis (VA)  
Deal  
DeLay  
Diaz-Balart  
Dickey  
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Schaefer, Dan  
Schaffer, Bob  
Sensenbrenner  
Sessions  
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Shuster  
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Smith (TX)  
Smith, Linda  
Snowbarger  
Solomon  
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Spence  
Stearns  
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Hoyer  
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Jackson-Lee  
(TX)  
Jefferson  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (WI)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
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Kildee  
Kilpatrick  
Kind (WI)  
Klecza  
Klink  
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LaFalce  
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Lewis (CA)  
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Price (NC)  
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Saxton  
Schumer  
Scott  
Serrano  
Shaw  
Shays  
Sherman  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Slaughter  
Smith, Adam  
Snyder  
Spratt  
Stabenow  
Stark  
Stokes  
Strickland  
Stump  
Stupak  
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Thurman  
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Torres  
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Vento  
Visclosky  
Waters  
Watt (NC)  
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Weygand  
White  
Wise  
Woolsey  
Wynn  
Yates

NOES—203

## NOT VOTING—7

Furse	McDade	Ros-Lehtinen
Gonzalez	Mollohan	
Lewis (GA)	Reyes	

□ 1724

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Ms. Ros-Lehtinen and Mr. Mollohan for, with Ms. Furse against.

So (two-thirds not having voted in favor thereof) the joint resolution was not passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD RECONSIDER DECISION TO BE FORMALLY RECEIVED IN TIANANMEN SQUARE BY PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 454 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

**H. RES 454**

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the resolution (H. Con. Res. 285) expressing the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The resolution shall be considered as read for amendment. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the resolution to final adoption without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate on the resolution equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader or his designee and a Member opposed to the resolution; and (2) one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON).

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of the legislation and the rule.

Mr. Speaker, nine years ago the world witnessed the massacre of at least a thousand people by the Communist Chinese regime in a place called Tiananmen Square.

It was one of the most brazen and contemptible acts of terror by a government in recent history, violating all internationally recognized human rights, and cutting to the core against one of the most cherished American values, that of freedom of political expression.

Yet in a few weeks, the President of the United States will condone that terrorist act by the Communist Chinese regime, place those internationally recognized human rights on the back burner, and throw those cherished American values into the trash can by being for-

mally received by the Butchers of Beijing right in that very place where the massacres occurred!

For years, Mr. Speaker, I have been appalled and aghast at the depths of shamelessness to which this administration has sunk in its cowardly but relentless effort to appease the government of Communist China, but this decision by President Clinton is the topper.

At least one can make a plausible-sounding, even if incorrect, case for granting Most-Favored-Nation trade status to China. But how in the world can this totally indecent decision be defended?

What reason could possibly be good enough? Are there jobs at stake if the President doesn't go to Tiananmen Square?

Would China perhaps do something irrational in its foreign policy if President Clinton doesn't go to Tiananmen? Of course not.

The only reason for President Clinton to engage in this full-blown publicity stunt for the Butchers of Beijing is the same reason that explains all of the rest of his appeasement policies toward China.

This administration has long since lost any sense of a moral compass when it comes to foreign policy, period.

The administration that said in 1992 that it would be the most ethical in history has categorically subordinated American values and U.S. national security interests to the interests of the business community, which always wants to appease all foreign governments.

We have known this for years, but President Clinton's forthcoming farce in Tiananmen Square takes us to a new and extremely low level.

Now this administration is not only betraying our most fundamental principles, but it is doing so openly, brazenly, and apparently with no shame whatsoever.

It is disgusting, and the very least the President can do is reverse this decision.

This is an excellent resolution and I urge unanimous support for it.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Yesterday, Mr. Speaker, the Rules Committee met and granted a closed rule to House Concurrent Resolution 285. The rule provides for consideration of the concurrent resolution in the House with 1 hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the majority leader, or his designee, and a Member opposed. The rule also provides for one motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, today is the ninth anniversary of the massacre at Tiananmen Square. It was on June 4, 1989, that the Chinese tyranny killed hundreds, perhaps thousands, of students who were peacefully calling for democracy in that square.

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) in a letter asked us if we might wear a sign, and I am wearing here on my lapel a sign of memory, in memory

of, the valiant students who were massacred that day, the unarmed representatives of the Chinese people who were massacred that day.

□ 1730

It is a date that will be recalled by history in infamous terms, in the most infamous of terms.

This month, Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States seeks to become the first U.S. President to visit China since the brutal massacre of 1989, and we are informed that the President of the United States plans to commence his visit to China by attending ceremonies with the Chinese hierarchy precisely at Tiananmen Square. That act, if in fact it takes place, that the President of the United States take part in a ceremony in Tiananmen Square, that act, if it takes place, will be a condemnable act, Mr. Speaker.

Now in the past weeks we have learned that the President of the United States may, may have turned a blind eye as wealthy campaign contributors harmed our national security by helping the Chinese communists improve their ballistic warheads. We have learned that the President of the United States may have accepted campaign donations from the Chinese army, the communist Chinese army, at the same time that he changed United States policy to benefit the Chinese Communist missile program.

We have learned that the President of the United States may have ignored his own Secretary of State and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon and allowed his campaign donors to help the Chinese communist military. And we have also learned that the President of the United States may have intervened personally to stop the Department of Justice's investigation into this matter.

Now the facts as we are learning them are deeply disturbing, and it is quite obvious that we do not know all the facts. These are serious matters, Mr. Speaker. The Chinese government, the Chinese Communist government, has at least 13 missiles aimed right now at United States cities. It would indeed be shocking if the President of the United States helped China to make those missiles more accurate.

It is clear that the American people deserve a thorough and complete explanation of the facts, and so unless and until we get such an explanation, we believe that the President should reconsider his visit at the very least to Tiananmen Square. We think that the Tiananmen Square visit is without any justification and is inherently not only unjustifiable but insensitive as well.

And so that is what the resolution that is being brought to the floor today in essence is all about, Mr. Speaker. It expresses the sense of Congress that President Clinton should reconsider his

decision to be formally received by the Chinese tyranny in Tiananmen Square until the Government of China, of the Peoples Republic of China, acknowledges that Tiananmen Square massacre, pledges that such atrocities will never happen again, and releases those Chinese students that still to this moment remain in prison for supporting freedom and democracy in China.

Nine years ago today thousands of Chinese students peacefully gathered in Tiananmen Square to demonstrate their support for freedom and for democracy while soldiers of the Chinese regime, the Chinese Communist regime, were ordered to fire machine guns and tanks on unarmed civilians. Now according to the Chinese Red Cross, more than 2,000 Chinese pro democracy activists, demonstrators, Chinese citizens who believed in the right of the Chinese people to have self determination and freedom, thousands died that day at the hands of the Chinese tyrants.

And so that is why this simple resolution is just and proper, and that is why on this anniversary that we bring it to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I certainly want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) for yielding me the time.

As my colleague has described, this is a closed rule. It will allow consideration of H. Con. Res. 285, which expresses the sense of Congress that the President of the United States should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square by the government of the People's Republic of China. This rule allows for 1 hour of debate and provides for one motion to recommit.

While I support this underlying resolution, and I just like to say that I would hope that we could have soon some resolution like this on the floor for the country of Sudan that I just returned from an 8-day trip, where 2 million people lost their lives and there is hardly any publicity about it, there is hardly any press about it, there is hardly anybody in the world that really cares about it. It just breaks your heart to see so many children and mothers that are dying from starvation, and to walk into and see killing fields where people have absolutely been shot, killed, hacked up with knives, being eaten by vultures. We talk about all these countries of the world, but there are so many countries where millions of people died and there is never a squawk out of this Congress. So I hope that some day we can start putting Sudan on the map.

I just like to say, relative to this resolution, I do have some reservations about the process in this Resolution

285. It was just introduced and the committee of jurisdiction has held no hearings that I know of, or markups on it. The rule was voted out of the Committee on Rules last night around 11 p.m. It is a closed rule which allows no amendments. This should be an open rule to allow the House to work its will. However, I reluctantly rise in support of this rule because of my concern for human rights abuses in China.

Today is the anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre. It has been 9 years since the killings of hundreds of unarmed civilians by the Chinese army in Beijing. The Chinese authorities have taken no steps to investigate these human rights violations, and Congress needs to send a strong message to the People's Republic of China that we have not forgotten Tiananmen Square.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I would inform the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL) we have no other speakers, and I would inquire as to whether he does.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I have no Member here to speak on this particular rule, and therefore, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that even in the short period of time that we have discussed this rule it has become apparent, especially because of the significance of the date that we bring this rule to the floor, the date that we are acting, it has become apparent, the importance of this statement that the House will be making very clearly pursuant to the resolution that is being brought to the floor by this rule.

This is a date, the 4th of June, that will forever be recalled as an infamous date, as a date where unarmed people who represented the dignity of an entire nation were slaughtered by the weapons in possession of a totalitarian dictatorship that is still in power, that, as the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL) stated, has not only not acknowledged its crime but continues to perpetuate crimes.

We have recently learned that the Chinese government is in the business of selling organs, human organs from prisoners, and if the price is right they will simply shoot the prisoner and sell the organ. That is the regime we are talking about. It is a regime that now Mr. Clinton, the President of the United States, is going to visit, and even though I still find it hard to believe, he apparently is going to be received officially for his state visit at the square where those thousands of Chinese innocent students were slaughtered. What pleasure, what profound and limitless pleasure would be obtained by the Chinese murderers if the

President of the United States, the elected leader not only of the only superpower in the world but the ethical and moral leader of the world, agrees to be received by that regime of thugs in the same physical place where thousands of students were murdered for believing in the ideals that are also the ideals of the United States of America.

And so what we will be saying in this resolution is, "No, Mr. President, if you think you have to go, and we think you shouldn't, but if you think you have to go, at the very least do not give the Chinese thugs the ultimate pleasure of showing their people that the President of the United States of America is willing to receive honors in the same place where the blood of the Chinese people flowed in rivers simply some years ago, a few years ago now. No, that is unacceptable."

That is what we are saying in this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 454 and as the designee of the majority leader, I call up the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 285) expressing the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square by the Government of the People's Republic of China, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 285 is as follows:

#### H. CON. RES. 285

Whereas 9 years ago on June 4, 1989, thousands of Chinese students peacefully gathered in Tiananmen Square to demonstrate their support for freedom and democracy;

Whereas it was with horror that the world witnessed the response of the Government of the People's Republic of China as tanks and military units marched into Tiananmen Square;

Whereas Chinese soldiers of the People's Republic of China were ordered to fire machine guns and tanks on young, unarmed civilians;

Whereas "children were killed holding hands with their mothers", according to a reliable eyewitness account;

Whereas according to the same eyewitness account, "students were crushed by armored personnel carriers";

Whereas more than 2,000 Chinese pro-democracy demonstrators died that day, according to the Chinese Red Cross;

Whereas hundreds continue to languish in prisons because of their belief in freedom and democracy;

Whereas 9 years after the massacre on June 4, 1989, the Government of the People's Republic of China has yet to acknowledge the Tiananmen Square massacre; and

Whereas, being formally received in Tiananmen Square, the President would bestow legitimacy on the Chinese Government's horrendous actions of 9 years ago: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square until the Government of the People's Republic of China acknowledges the Tiananmen Square massacre, pledges that such atrocities will never happen again, and releases those Chinese students still imprisoned for supporting freedom and democracy that day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY) for taking the time to craft this very timely and important resolution. H. Con. Res. 285 expresses a sense of the Congress that the President should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square in the People's Republic of China by the government of the People's Republic of China. In light of China's actions in Tiananmen Square 9 years ago, it would be inappropriate for the President to go there. That square was the site where thousands of students and workers who held up a replica of the Statue of Liberty and looked towards our Nation for support were brutally gunned down and run over by the tanks in the People's Liberation Army.

□ 1745

Subsequent to that unforgivable crime against their own people, authorities within the PLA tried to smuggle to Los Angeles, to the street gangs here, Stinger missiles and thousands of AK-47s.

The People's Liberation Army runs a vast network of prisons and labor camps throughout China and occupied Tibet and holds untold numbers of Christians, Muslims and Buddhists for attempting to practice their religion without authorization from the state.

The People's Liberation Army threatens democratic Taiwan and fuels the nuclear arms race in South Asia by transferring nuclear and ballistic missile technology to Pakistan. Recently, high-placed authorities within the PLA were accused of influencing U.S. policy in order to obtain very critical and sensitive ballistic missile technology.

Our full Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight today has conducted a joint hearing on the sale of body parts by the People's Republic of China. The PLA is at the center of an international sale and trans-

plant scheme that takes kidneys, corneas, livers and lungs from condemned prisoners and transplants them into wealthy patients who can afford the price.

There comes a time, Mr. Speaker, and a place, to put a limit on just what our Nation needs to do in order to engage China and its military. The administration gave a 17-gun salute in Washington to the Chinese general who orchestrated the Tiananmen massacre.

I ask, does the President really need to stand on that bloodstained Tiananmen Square so that Beijing can feel comfortable trading with us? I think not. Accordingly, I strongly urge my colleagues to join us in supporting H. Con. Res. 285.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this resolution. I think it is a bad policy, I think it is bad politics, and I think it is bad procedure.

On the face of it, the resolution seems innocuous. It declares the sense of Congress that the President should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square when he visits China later this month, until the Chinese Government acknowledges the Tiananmen Square massacre, pledges that such a tragedy will never occur again and releases the Chinese students still imprisoned for their participation in the pro-democracy movement in 1989.

It is important to note, I think, that the resolution does not oppose the President's trip to China itself, but it does put conditions on the reception ceremonies that would inevitably make a successful visit less likely.

This resolution claims that, by attending arrival ceremonies in Tiananmen Square, the President will somehow bestow legitimacy on the cruel events that took place there 9 years ago today. I think that is unfair to the President. I think it is absurd.

President Clinton has spoken out time after time against the brutal actions of the Chinese Government at Tiananmen Square. As Members will recall, President Clinton gave China's President a public lecture on this very issue at a joint press conference in Washington at the summit last fall, a lecture that many Members praised at the time.

The President, through his policy of engagement, has pushed aggressively on human rights, and he has gotten results. China has, with American prodding, released a number of political and religious prisoners, including Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan. It has acknowledged its obligation to abide by the terms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a concession that makes it now impossible for Beijing to argue that human

rights is a domestic concern in which we should not intrude.

China has begun to tolerate a level of public discussion and dissent that even a year ago would have been unimaginable. Of course, China has a long way to go in its human rights practices, but we should also recognize that the typical Chinese today has more personal freedoms and a better quality of life than at any time in history.

Tiananmen Square is the central feature of Beijing. The Great Hall of the People faces one side and the entrance to the Forbidden City faces another. It is China's equivalent of the White House south lawn. It is where heads of state visiting China are formally welcomed. It is where Prime Minister Major, President Chirac, Prime Minister Hashimoto and Prime Minister Netanyahu have all been welcomed in recent years.

So Mr. Clinton's presence there is similar. It has no suggestion of approval of China's human rights policies, any more than the presence of many Members of this body who have, accompanied by their Chinese hosts, visited Tiananmen Square in the past.

May I remind Members, for instance, that just last year the Speaker of the House of Representatives visited Tiananmen Square; and during his visit to China the Speaker enunciated a fundamental truth when he said, and I quote him now, "If you can be respectful but firm, you can get a long way talking with the Chinese."

China is a sovereign country. We cannot tell it where to hold its welcoming ceremonies. We would be deeply offended if the Chinese tried to dictate this to us. Why does anyone imagine that they will react differently?

The real question this resolution raises is how we can best promote human rights in China. Do we advance our human rights concerns by telling the Chinese where to receive the President of the United States, or do we advance those concerns by engaging with the Chinese?

This resolution suggests that we can improve China's human rights record behavior by telling the President not to go to Tiananmen Square. Frankly, in my view, that is a very superficial way to deal with a very difficult, complex issue. Do we really believe that this resolution will improve human rights conditions in China? And, if it does not, what then is the purpose of the resolution?

The only practical way to promote human rights in China is by maintaining the policy of engagement toward China that has been followed by every administration, Democratic and Republican, since President Nixon. Engagement works. It is not easy, it does not produce results as quickly as we might like, but if we are to have any chance of pushing the Chinese toward greater respect of human rights, we

must continue to engage with them. Insults will not do the trick.

There are things that we can do that hold out the promise of improving human rights in China.

We must make it clear to China that, until it changes its human rights practices, it cannot become a modern, stable, prosperous country.

We must make it clear to China that, unless it improves its human rights performance, it will never be a fully accepted member of the international community.

We must make it clear that it is in China's own interests that it adhere at least to minimal international standards of due process, accountability, transparency and the rule of law.

We must continue to press China on these contentious human rights issues. We must not abandon our efforts, but we must be ready for the long pull.

I do not question the sincerity of those who will speak in support of this resolution today, and I fully understand how the votes will go in a few minutes. All of us were appalled by China's brutal actions in Tiananmen Square 9 years ago. All of us agree that the Chinese Government should formally and publicly repent its tragic actions and immediately release those who are still imprisoned for their participation in the pro-democracy movement of 1989.

We are not considering this resolution today in isolation. This resolution must be put in the context of other measures this House has debated in recent months. It is part of a pattern that has seen this House take up one anti-China resolution or amendment after another since the U.S.-China summit last fall. Together, these measures are immensely complicating the management of this most difficult foreign policy relationship.

I understand that many Members of this House do not favor a policy of constructive engagement with China. That is, of course, their prerogative. For myself, I do not want to undermine the policy of engagement. I do not want to promote a policy of confrontation, and that is what I believe these resolutions and amendments do.

There are many Chinese policies that I abhor, as much, I think, as any Member of this House. We should speak out against those policies, but we should also think about what actions will change those policies and bring results.

Anti-China rhetoric may make some feel good, but it will not bring the results that we seek. It complicates the issue. The President's policies have led to some improvements in the human rights situation in China. This resolution will not.

Finally, I voice my dismay with the procedure followed for this resolution. It was introduced only yesterday and went directly to the Committee on Rules. The Committee on International

Relations has jurisdiction over such resolutions, but apparently the chairman waived consideration in order to facilitate the resolution coming up today.

I understand that today is a significant date, but that is not an excuse for a flawed, hurried process. There has been no consideration of this resolution or the difficult issues it addresses by the Committee on International Relations. There has been no consultation with the administration, at least to my knowledge. Little thought has been given to the foreign policy implications of this resolution. This is not a deliberative, careful process. A flawed process is producing, I think, a flawed product. This does not reflect well on the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I take second place to no one in my support for human rights and freedom in China, but that is not what we are debating in this resolution. Let us consider how we can promote the values of freedom and justice in China, but let us do it thoughtfully, deliberately and free of partisan and political motives.

This resolution will not advance freedom in China. It will not help those who, 9 years after the tragedy we commemorate today, continue to suffer for their belief that the Chinese people should enjoy the same liberties we in this country so cherish.

This resolution will not prod Chinese authorities to open their country to the forces of pluralism and the winds of democracy. It will do none of these things. It will only convince Chinese leaders that many in this institution, the House of Representatives, want to declare a war of words against China. It will promote confrontation and make it less likely that the Chinese will listen to us on human rights or the other issues of deep importance to us.

The administration, of course, opposes this resolution, and so should all those who are interested in results and not just rhetoric. I urge my colleagues to vote no on this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), our distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a yes vote on this important human rights resolution. Nine years ago today, the ground of Tiananmen Square was hallowed by the blood of thousands of peaceful democracy advocates. Those Chinese patriots were slaughtered by a communist regime that remains unapologetic for its actions and that continues to deny the truth of what happened. It is repugnant that the President of the United States

of America, the country that, foremost of any of the world, ought to bear the standard of freedom and democracy, would meet at the very site with dictators who continue to lie about the murders committed less than a decade ago.

□ 1800

This resolution is not anti-China. It is anti-abuse, the abuse that was endured by those democracy activists, that was witnessed by the world via C-SPAN, via CNN and other networks that were there on the scene.

Mr. Speaker, in December of 1996 General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China and the operational commander of the forces that attacked the pro-democracy demonstrators, was invited to the United States by the Clinton Administration. During his visit, he was given full military honors, a 19-gun salute, visits with several military bases, and a tour of the Sandia Nuclear Laboratory. He even had a personal meeting with President Clinton at the White House.

General Chi said that not a single person, and I quote, not a single person lost his life in Tiananmen Square. He claimed that on June 4, 1989 the People's Liberation Army did nothing more violent than pushing people whom he called hooligans.

The supposed idea behind these official visits such as General Chi's visit and President Clinton's trip to Beijing is to foster mutual understanding. That is just what they say. If we are going to live in the same world with governments run by people like General Chi, the argument goes, we had better get to know each other.

General Chi's big lie about Tiananmen Square certainly helped many Americans understand what he and his government are really like. However, in China the visit by the Butcher of Beijing was a public relations coup. He could not have gotten better press, being feted at the White House and being given all of these honors. Again, this is the man that ordered the killing of those students.

I believe that the process of getting acquainted must be a reciprocal one. In an effort to help General Chi understand that in America it matters whether you tell the truth, my Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights invited him or any other representative of the Chinese Government to appear at a hearing on the Tiananmen massacre. If he could present convincing and compelling evidence that the massacre was really a myth after all, those of us who view the Beijing government and had our views shaped by that massacre would have to admit that we were wrong.

We were prepared to give General Chi an opportunity to substantiate his claim that China has sold no illegal

weapons to Iran. Perhaps he could have shown us that there were no persecuted Christians in China, no ethnic and religious persecution in Tibet and Xinjiang, no forced abortions, which are millions per year, women who are literally thrust and brought into these abortion mills, no coerced sterilizations, and no dying rooms for unwanted children. These claims would have all been contrary to the evidence, but in America everyone is given a fair opportunity to be heard.

Unfortunately, General Chi did not respond to our invitation, and the place we had saved for a representative, either he or a member of the government, sat empty during that hearing, at which time we heard from multiple eyewitnesses, including an editor from the People's Daily who recounted the horrors of Tiananmen Square.

In commentary about Tiananmen Square, Mr. Chairman, Nicholas Kristoff of the New York Times, who was in the Square that night, reported, and I quote, "The troops began shooting. Some people fell to the ground, wounded or dead. Each time the soldiers fired again and more people fell to the ground."

When he went to the Xiehe hospital, the nearest to the Square, "it was a bloody mess with hundreds of injured lying on the floors. I saw the bullet holes," Nicholas Kristoff goes on to say, "in the ambulances."

Jan Wong of the Toronto Globe and Mail, looking down from the balcony at the Peking Hotel, "watched in horror as the army shot directly into the crowds. People fell with gaping wounds." Later, she reported, "The soldiers strafed ambulances and shot medical workers trying to rescue the wounded." "In all," she reported, "I recorded eight long murderous volleys." Dozens died before her very eyes.

This is what Tiananmen Square means to the people of China and to the world. If President Clinton goes there and stands shoulder to shoulder with the very people who ordered the massacre, that gesture will be a thousand times more powerful than any mere words he may exchange with those who mowed down and bayoneted students and democracy activists. It will be the diplomatic equivalent of dancing on the graves of the courageous and innocent victims of Tiananmen square.

Mr. President, for God's sake and for the sake of the people of China and for the sake of everything the U.S. used to and hopefully still stands for, do not mark the ninth anniversary of the murder at Tiananmen Square by celebrating with the murderers at the scene of the crimes.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS).

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gen-

tleman from Indiana for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose the resolution. I put a question to my colleagues: What were 122 Members of the House of Representatives doing visiting Beijing in 1997? I visited there four times with 39 of them, including the Speaker of the House, the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), chairman of the Committee on International Relations, and the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), chair of the Subcommittee on Asia, 39 members.

On the visits each time, each one of us went to Tiananmen Square. No one in this House failed to condemn the atrocities in Tiananmen Square, nor are in support of what happens there.

The President has spoken clearly and often in condemnation of human rights violations in China. When we traveled there, Speaker GINGRICH, I was there on March 30 when he said if we can be respectful, but firm, we can get a long way talking with the Chinese.

I have been in those rooms with the Prime Minister and the Vice Premier, with other distinguished Chinese persons. In each instance our priorities were human rights, democracy, the rule of law; and in each instance we raised those questions time and time again.

Fundamentally, the question of the arrival ceremony becomes a question about whether or not President Clinton goes to China. When a foreign leader goes to China, the leader has a welcoming ceremony, and that is where the ceremony is, period.

We have discussed it with the Chinese at great length. Not surprisingly, the Chinese leaders consider China their country, not ours, and feel that a guest should have the ceremony where they always have had it. I am not aware of other countries that do arrival ceremonies where and when we tell them.

Finally, I will put this question to my colleagues: When President Richard Nixon went to China, the Red Guard, Mao Tse-tung, and countless other official individuals reigned supreme. The question that I put: Was China as bad on human rights then when President Nixon visited? The answer is, of course, it was. But it was right to be engaged then, and it is right to be engaged now.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON), chairman of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard some of my colleagues say that we have to make it clear to China that if they are to join the people of nations, that they are going to have to change their policies. I have heard some of my col-

leagues say that we have to be respectful, but firm. I have been in Congress now for 16 years, and every single year I have heard that same kind of statement. Every single year, the situation either remains the same or worse.

Recently, a Clinton administration official said frankly on the human rights front, the situation has deteriorated. They are rounding up dissidents and harassing them more.

There were 7,300 young men and women who wanted nothing more than liberty and freedom 9 years ago and were brutally massacred or hurt in Tiananmen Square. Many of them are still in communist Chinese gulags today.

What are we going to do about it? We have got to continue to be engaged with them. We have a \$60 billion trade deficit that is really putting pressure on communist China. They are using 10 million men, women, and children in slave labor camps, gulags, to make tennis shoes and things that we buy in this country every day.

Yet, when they commit human rights atrocities like Tiananmen Square, we say we have to keep engaged. We have to be respectful, but firm. We have to make it clear to them they have got to change, but they do not change. It goes on year after year after year.

Today, we had a hearing before our committee. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and I cochaired that meeting. We had Harry Wu testify before our committee, and Wei Jingsheng before the committee. Both of them told us very clearly that in the prisons over there they are killing prisoners for body parts.

They come to foreign countries, and they say to foreign countries, if you want a kidney, we will get it for you for \$30,000. Then they go back for tissue samples and blood samples, and they find a prisoner or group of prisoners. They say, okay, come over here on a certain date, and I will kill them and give you their kidneys, and they do it.

They are making an estimated minimum of \$60 million a year by harvesting body parts off of prisoners, many of them possibly political dissidents, and selling them to people around the world. I cannot hardly believe that. It is ghoulis. Yet, we turn our backs on that.

It is going on today. They are doing it in Taiwan. They are doing it in Macao. They are doing it all over Southeast Asia. They are doing it even here in the United States, where people have already been arrested trying to sell these body parts.

But we have to stay engaged with them. We have to look the other way while these human rights atrocities continue to take place. I say, why? Are we our brother's keeper or not? Are we supposed to turn our heads and look the other way just for the almighty dollar? Is American business so callous

that they do not care about people in other parts of the world?

Obviously we want to make money. Money is very important. But, for God's sake, what about human beings who are suffering? We look the other way.

What kind of penalties do we impose on the Chinese Government for these atrocities? Nothing. Nothing. We talk about it year after year after year. Many of my colleagues have been here as long as I have, and nothing changes. There are still 10 million people in those gulags making tennis shoes for us, slave labor camps, being paid nothing, but we look the other way. We have got to stay constructively engaged with no penalties.

I submit to my colleagues, we have got to put some pressure on them. We have done it before, I think, when we had some property rights. A couple years ago I think we put some pressure on China and they relented, but it was only because we put pressure on them. But we do not do that anymore. Very rare cases.

So I would just like to say to my colleagues we need to put pressure on communist China. We now believe that we have had technology transferred that has endangered the very security of every man, woman, and child in this country, or possibly may have. We know that the Chinese Communist government has given political contributions in this country, and they do not do it for their health. They must have been doing it, trying to influence our policies in some way.

These things need to be investigated thoroughly before the President of the United States goes over there in Tiananmen Square where this massacre took place and starts shaking hands with the President of China, who lied to the American people when he said there were no political contributions coming from them into this country, and he knew it.

I would just like to end up by saying this to my colleagues: For God's sweet sake, think about those people over there who are dying today while we are so callously looking the other way.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT).

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, as I listen to this debate, I think we are back into debate like we just finished on the prayer amendment. The question is: Does the President of the United States condone what happened in Tiananmen Square? Is anybody seriously asserting that the President of the United States condones what happened there? The answer is absolutely not. He has spoken about it over and over again.

I would respect the matters of this resolution if they would put in it what they really want, which is that the

President should not go. To say to the President of the United States, look, Bill, when you get over there, tell them where you are going to land and where you want to meet them and what door you want to go into, the Great Hall of the People. Just send over a letter to the Chinese Government and say, I am not coming in the front door, I want to come in around back through the alley.

That is so ridiculous as to make the Chinese either laugh or be angry, one way or the other. It is their country. They decide how every official delegation comes to China.

I traveled with the President on his South American trip and his African trip. People in Brazil and Argentina were distressed by the amount of intrusion we made about how the President comes into a country.

□ 1815

For us to stand here on the floor and seriously say he should not go to the official reception place of the Chinese Government is just simply ridiculous.

Now, I believe that we have no choice but to remain engaged with China. For us to return to the pre-Nixon era, when we said they are communists so we are not going to talk to them, is simply not possible. Clearly, the events in South Asia that everybody was out here 2 weeks ago passing resolutions about, that is, the exchange of nuclear technology with Pakistan, and the whole problem of the Pakistan-China-India triangle, is an issue that must be discussed at the highest level.

If Members and I share a concern about peace in the world, we have to be talking to the people who have the ability to control that situation. For us to say to the President, why do you not start by insulting the Chinese, tell them where you are going to land, you are going to go into Nanking, the old south capital, you are not going to Beijing because that represents a bad place, would be like saying to Yeltsin, I do not think I am going to come into Moscow because that is where a lot of tragedy and trauma occurred.

Mr. Speaker, I think this resolution is very ill-conceived and bad public policy.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SALMON).

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support this resolution, which could not have come at a more poignant time. Nine years ago today thousands of young Chinese men and women lost their lives while demonstrating support for freedom and democracy. This peaceful demonstration came to a violent end when Chinese soldiers of the People's Republic of China were ordered to fire machine guns and tanks on these innocent unarmed civilians. Many of the survivors remain incarcerated today.

I realize I have a somewhat different point of view than many of my col-

leagues. In fact, I urged the President to go to China. There was a letter circulated recently asking him not to go. I think that would be a tragic mistake. I think he should go. I think there are a lot of valuable things he could accomplish. I think he can reaffirm the moral values of the American people in terms of human rights, nonproliferation, and on and on. He should have gone long ago, in fact, not for just some kind of a photo opportunity, but to discuss the serious issues facing our Nation today.

However, he should not go to Tiananmen Square. In fact, just 3 days ago I sent a letter to President Clinton, and I will quote it:

I must urge you in the strongest terms to avoid any official activities in Tiananmen Square. No American President should appear at Tiananmen Square, at a minimum, until Chinese officials acknowledge young Chinese men and women whose blood was shed 9 years ago this week. Your visit there would set back the Chinese struggle for human rights, and would be an insult to those heroic students who gave their lives for the cause of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, Chinese officials must acknowledge the bloodshed that occurred in Tiananmen Square if they expect to advance a constructive relationship with the United States. I urge all of my colleagues to support this resolution. It is not about trying to dictate to the President where he should go or where he should not go, it is simply about common sense. It is simply about reaffirming our values. That is a great opportunity to build constructively this relationship.

A lot of folks who have said that MFN does not work, they say so because I do not think we have been constructively engaged. We do not take the opportunities to use the bully pulpit to speak plainly with our colleagues on another continent.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER).

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Speaker, I, too, am outraged at the atrocities at Tiananmen Square 9 years ago. I, too, as the concurrent resolution states, am outraged that children were killed holding the hands of their mothers, outraged that students were crushed by armored personnel carriers. As the resolution says, I am outraged that more than 2,000 Chinese, pro-democracy demonstrators, died that day.

But is this resolution about changing policy in China? Unfortunately, it is not. It is just yet another partisan political attempt to embarrass the President. While I would never dare impugn the motives of those speaking in favor of the resolution, where were all the voices, where was the Speaker's voice, when he supported extending China once again Most Favored Nation trading status? Where were all the voices who support extending Most Favored Nation trading status on China? Why

were they not talking about the atrocities then?

To support China-MFN and to support this concurrent resolution is intellectually incompatible, because to do so is to argue that these brave souls, 2,000 of them that lost their lives, their lives are worthy of changing a ceremony but they are not worthy of changing our economic policy. Those lives are worthy of changing some ceremonial thing that the President will do, where he will walk, but they are not worthy of us, God forbid, losing a buck.

I am sure those that bring back the memory of those whose lives were lost in Tiananmen Square are very genuine, very genuine in their memories. But I respectfully suggest to bring up the memories of such brave freedom fighters in the context of something that is not a great debate about policy about China, but is yet just another attempt to rebuke the President on an international stage, is not what we ought to do.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. COX).

Mr. COX of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, our relations with the People's Republic of China are multi-dimensional. We have trade relations, we have security relations, and yes, we care about human rights in China. Yes, we should talk about these things always together. But there are people of good will on both sides who believe that keeping tariff rates low is a way for us to engage China. That is the view of the President of the United States.

While I am one who has voted against MFN, and so probably do not fall into the category that my colleague just described of being inconsistent, I do not see it as hypocrisy when people wish to stand up for human rights and also wish to stand up for low tariff rates.

It seems to me that when we have a vote on this in just a little while, we are likely to have about 90 percent of the Congress voting together, because on either side of the MFN issue, we ought to agree that human rights in China are important. Because our relations, our bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China are complex, it is, to state the obvious, that human rights is not all there is.

But if the President of the United States were to appear in Tiananmen Square, with all of the symbolism that that carries, were to appear in this very public killing field, that visit, that event, would be all about human rights and nothing else. That is why the President ought not to do it.

It is not just that over 2,000 people were killed by PLA troops and tanks on that day, as estimated by the Chinese Red Cross and other reliable

sources, including eyewitness accounts. It is that the survivors of those democracy demonstrations are still in jail today, in 1998. It is awfully difficult to imagine an America that stands for freedom sending its President to the very site of this notorious event, which all the world saw and still concerns itself with, and not send the kind of signal that all of us hope is not sent, that America no longer cares about freedom. We do care about freedom. I believe President Clinton cares about freedom. That is why he should not go there.

Last year I went with the leadership of this Congress to meet with President Jiang Zemin in Beijing. We were not received in Tiananmen Square. It was not necessary for us to be received there. The Vice President of the United States, AL GORE, last year went to the People's Republic of China. He was not received in Tiananmen Square.

President Clinton should not become the first American President, the only American President, to be received in Tiananmen Square since that horrible occurrence in 1989. That is what this resolution is all about. I am very confident that it will receive broad and bipartisan support. I am very confident that the advice that we will be giving I think will be received as it is intended, for the good of the United States of America, for the good of human rights around the world.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN), the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think supporting this resolution is standing up for human rights. I think well-intentioned people can disagree about this, but for me this is the essence of meaningless symbolism over real substance.

If Members do not think the President should go to China, bring forth a resolution saying that the President should not go to China. If Members do not believe in the policy of constructive engagement, then come out and speak against that particular policy. If Members want to do something that will hurt the Chinese and bear the consequences of it, then come out for MFN. If Members want to withhold imports and trade benefits because of the constant and continuous policy of proliferation of nuclear and missile technology, deal with that.

But do not say, all this is fine, constructive engagement is good, going to China makes sense, renew MFN, but, Mr. Speaker, do not go to the place that for all of us symbolizes the most horrible, indescribable terror imaginable and the example of brute government force, do not go there, as your statement of protest.

Mr. President, go there, speak against that horror, speak against what we do not want, push an agenda which is meaningful and real in terms of helping America's interest in stability and the interests of nonproliferation and the cause of human rights, but do not take the cheap symbolism of this kind of resolution as a substitute for a policy.

I have watched, too much, people who write letters urging the President to allow American satellites and Chinese launchers and then pass one House bill to stop it, and people who stand up and decry China and then go vote for MFN because American corporations want it.

I agree with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) about his point, and I urge a "no" vote on the resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF).

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this resolution. The resolution calls for the release of prisoners. The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and I went into prison. In fact, this is Beijing Prison Number 1. This is the back of the head of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

These were prisoners, Tiananmen Square prisoners, and we picked the socks up off the line that the prisoners were making. There were 1,000 to 2,000 people killed, but there were men, many of them or most of them, and I see the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. CHRIS SMITH) in the back there, who remembers vividly when we went in the Beijing Prison Number 1. What it says was Hosiery Factory, when it was basically a very, very brutal prison.

For their families, it is absolutely important to pass the resolution. It is not a free vote, because I will tell the Members, tomorrow morning on Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia and Voice of America, if you will, this will go on, that the United States Congress has passed this. What it will say is that the people's body, the United States Congress, has passed this resolution.

If you were a mom or dad who had had your son or daughter killed, and I have brutal pictures of those who have been run over by tanks, this would send a message. But for those who are in prison and languishing, it will send a message: One, he ought not to go to Tiananmen Square, and I am one who has been opposed to MFN; but two, I think for the children, for the prisoners that are in there who made these socks, and these have golfers on them and they do not play golf in China, they are for export to the United States, this resolution is a good resolution.

I strongly hope that it is passed by an overwhelming margin, because tomorrow in Beijing when they hear, I

think it will send a positive message, and the prisoners in Beijing Prison Number 1 and throughout the gulags will find out about this resolution. Their moms, their dads, their wives, their families within the next couple of weeks will tell them, and that will give them hope.

I appreciate the sponsorship of this, and I strongly support this, and hope it can be almost by unanimous vote.

□ 1830

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today with my prized possession which is the great icon, the picture, probably one of the greatest symbols of the 20th century, of the lone man before the tank. And it is signed by almost every important dissident who has come out of China. It is a great treasure to me because of the courage of the people that are represented here.

I rise today in support of the resolution, and I want to tell my colleagues why. But, first of all, I want to associate myself with some of the remarks of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER) and the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN), because far too often we have resolutions on the floor that serve as a fig leaf for those who, when the really serious issues come up like trade status and the rest, are never with us.

Members are quick to criticize the impact of the President's policies while they have stuck with him every time a vote is taken, but use these issues for political purposes and bring up resolutions, as I say, to make themselves well, when they are voting against the really serious issues that we have to deal with.

Having said that, I want to say that this is not about whether the President should go to China. I think the President should go to China when the time is right. He thinks that is now. I disagree, but I am not against his going to China.

And it is not about whether we should be engaged with China, because we certainly should be engaged with China, but in a sustainably and constructive way, which I do not think we are right now.

The reason why I am opposed to the President being received in Tiananmen Square is because the President is trying to frame his visit as the end of the Tiananmen era. That is not so. And just saying it will not make it so.

The Tiananmen era will not be over until the Chinese regime reverses the decision of Tiananmen Square; until the over 100 people who were arrested at that time are freed and are allowed

to speak freely in China; until the over 2,000 political prisoners are freed, not exiled but allowed to stay in China and speak freely, and over 200,000 people who are in reform-through-labor camps because of their political beliefs are released.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I just want to say that Mr. Harry Wu said this morning if the President goes to Tiananmen Square, he will join the Chinese regime on the wrong side of history. I urge our colleagues to vote aye.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE).

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 285 expressing the sense of Congress that President Clinton ought not to be received by the Chinese Government on his arrival at Tiananmen Square when he goes there later this month.

Mr. Speaker, as many in this body know, I am one who believes very strongly in a policy of engagement. I am one that supported China MFN. I believe that engagement works. I believe that when American citizens, businesspeople, students, and academicians travel to China, we help to spread our values there. And I do believe that makes a difference. I also do not oppose the President's visiting China. Indeed, I believe he should visit China, because I believe it is an important element of a sound foreign policy for China.

Others that have supported this resolution have talked about the abuses that are going on today in China. They have talked about widespread political prisoners. They have talked about body parts being sold commercially and about forced abortions. We know there are human rights abuses in China—some of them alleged, some that we know take place.

But that is not what this resolution is about. The resolution says that this President ought not to be received as an official part of his visit in Tiananmen Square because of the very symbolism that an event there would suggest. It would suggest that the United States, that the President of the United States, forgives and forgets what happened there only 9 years ago when the Chinese Government callously crushed an incipient student political democracy movement. It was brutal, and we all saw it on television.

And, yes, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) said that I was in Tiananmen Square with him. Yes, I was there. But I think there is a difference in walking across Tiananmen Square and being officially received there as part of the opening ceremony.

Mr. Speaker, the President should go to China, but he ought to be in control of his own visit. No Chinese visitor

would agree to be received on American soil at the site of some atrocity against its citizens in this country, if such an event were to occur. If we believe in freedom and human rights for Chinese, our president should not visit in any official capacity the scene of the brutal repression.

Mr. Speaker, I say, "Mr. President, make your visit. Stay engaged. But do not say to the Chinese that we condone and forgive what happened there 9 years ago. Mr. President, do not go to Tiananmen Square on this visit."

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY).

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution.

It was over 20 years ago the Republican President Nixon fought off the forces of isolationism and turned this country towards a direction of engagement with China. When I hear many of the speakers today that are suggesting that our President should not be entertained on Tiananmen Square, that are suggesting which door he should enter when he goes to the Great Hall of China, I am troubled by that, because it seems to me that we have seen clear demonstration over the last 20 years that this policy of constructive engagement has done more to advance the interest of human rights, the interest of religious freedom in China than any policy of isolationism could have ever achieved.

Sure, there are still problems in human rights. There are still problems in religious persecution. But for us to suggest and to dictate to this President how and where he should be entertained is clearly not appropriate. It does not serve us well to dictate to the President that he should insult the host, the President of China and the citizens of China.

Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to vote against this resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER).

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for his leadership on this.

Mr. Speaker, the President "continues to coddle China, despite its continuing crackdown on democratic reforms, its brutal subjugation of Tibet, and its irresponsible export of technology." That is not my opinion.

Let me read that again. The President "continues to coddle China, despite its continuing crackdown on democratic reforms, its brutal subjugation of Tibet, and its irresponsible export of technology." December 11, 1992, William Clinton when he was President-elect.

Mr. Speaker, talk about a whopper. I mean, if my colleagues wonder why the American people distrust our leadership, it is when they say one thing to

get elected and, when they get elected, they do exactly the opposite.

We heard earlier in the debate that he is just yielding to the interests of that country, that they set the schedule. But when another President of the United States went to Bitburg, where Nazi butchers had killed Jews that were buried in that cemetery, there was a justified outcry in America, and from the other side of the aisle, that said that we do not think the President should go to Bitburg.

Mr. Speaker, what is the double standard here? Thousands of students were butchered. Many are in prison today. And the last thing we need from the President of the United States is to break his word that he gave the American people about coddling the Chinese, about not standing up for human rights, because he ran on it. We would like him to keep his word and not do what would be a terrible signal to those who are trying to stand up for human rights and democratic reforms around the world.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. WISE).

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, I think with the eloquence of many who have spoken here on both sides, it is important to remember what happened 9 years ago in Tiananmen Square. The people must remember. The U.S. Congress must remember. The President of the United States and, yes, the Chinese people and government must remember.

But I have got to ask, too, why do we not remember and remember how important it is to engage? Would anyone have seriously suggested that Presidents Reagan or Bush or Ford or Carter, going all the way back, should never have gone to Moscow to meet with the Soviet Union, now, of course, the Russians, because of the gulags, because of the Korean Air 007 shooting down, because of the oppression in Afghanistan and countless other countries? Of course not. We knew they had to go.

Or Richard Nixon, should he not have gone to China? Talk about human rights violations. Mao Tse-tung and the Red Guard were running in full bloom at the time. Millions massacred, millions incarcerated. Deng Xiaoping himself, a later leader of China, was being subjected to imprisonment by the Red Guard, but we had to engage.

The President of the United States standing in Tiananmen Square does not gloss over what happened there; it highlights it. It highlights it because of the attention it draws, and I think President Clinton will stand well in representing what Americans believe.

We have to look at this trip in the entirety, not in separate events. And that is what I think is important, is what does the President come back with?

Finally, I am a little tired of micromanaging by Congress. I am tired when the Speaker of the House goes to Israel and decides it is okay to bash foreign policy on foreign soil. I am tired of Congress trying to micromanage the foreign policy of this country. It is fair to hold the President accountable, but let the President do what the Constitution says he is to do.

Many, and I am one of them who has supported MFN status, but I would be insulted if someone tried to say that business was trumping blood in that situation. So it is that I feel the President should be given the leeway and the discretion to do what he knows is fair to be done, and then it is fair to judge him on the entirety.

Mr. Speaker, I urge rejection of this resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER), a member of the committee.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I am going to be blunt. The presence of the President in the United States, President Clinton with his record on human rights, in Tiananmen Square makes a mockery of this country's sincere commitment to human rights and democracy.

This administration has the worst human rights record of any administration in my lifetime. And any utterance the President of the United States might make about human rights in Tiananmen Square, where thousands of young people struggling for democracy in China were murdered, just takes away from any message that we might have as a people to the peoples of the world that we are serious when we talk about democracy and freedom.

In reality, it will be seen as purely posturing by a President that has time and again said making money and making sure that the Chinese can keep that \$50 billion trade surplus to be used to build up their own weapons systems which they then use to suppress their people is much more important than human rights.

President Clinton said, well, we must have Most Favored Nation status again just recently; and he told the people of the United States that this was because China can help us. It is not good in human rights. At least it can help us in a broader role by bringing peace to Asia or whatever. And further evidence of this, of the role they can play, is the important role that the President said that we can be working with China in some strategic relationship in the 21st century.

But what constructive role was he talking about with Beijing as a strategic partner? Since May 26, one week previous to the President's statement, U.S. intelligence has been tracking a Chinese cargo freighter that departed from Shanghai loaded with missiles and electronic components to be used

for nuclear weapons steaming for Pakistan. Steaming for Pakistan. With that type of a record I would suggest that China cannot help us with anything, and they are not good for human rights.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA).

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 285 which urges President Clinton reconsider his decision to be received in Tiananmen Square.

Mr. Speaker, President Bush condemned the Chinese government when the killings occurred; and President Clinton has repeatedly been on record and made clear his view that the breakup of the demonstrations and killing of innocent civilians was unacceptable and a great mistake by the Chinese leaders.

Traditionally, the Chinese Government welcomes heads of state by arrival ceremonies held at the Great Hall of People which is next to Tiananmen Square. All dignitaries from around the world are accorded the same reception at the Great Hall, as was done with Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto, French President Chirac, British Prime Minister Major, Russian President Yeltsin, and even Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

Mr. Speaker, are we as a Nation greater than all of these democratic nations combined? It seems to me that we are bordering along the line of arrogance to tell another sovereign nation how it should receive our President. The reception of these world leaders at the Great Hall did not signify their government's condoning the Tiananmen Square massacre. Likewise, President Clinton's reception at the Great Hall cannot be construed as bestowing legitimacy on the Chinese Government's brutal actions 9 years ago.

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Mr. Speaker, contrary to the views of my friends in the Republican majority, I honestly believe the presence of President Clinton on Tiananmen Square will reinforce and reaffirm fundamental basic democratic values and principles to all the leaders and the people of China. President Clinton should respect Chinese protocol and use the opportunity of the Great Hall to expressly honor the memories of those who died in Tiananmen Square, while urging that China continue progress at all levels for human rights.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that our colleagues vote against this measure.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, would the Chair advise us how much time remains?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The gentleman from New

York (Mr. GILMAN) has 3 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) has 2½ minutes remaining.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in many instances we see bravery by going forward, marching strong and tall. I would hope this country would view the visit of the President of the United States just in that form.

I, too, was outraged and overcome with sadness at the tragedy of Tiananmen Square in 1989. Thousands of Chinese students marched peacefully, children were killed and students were trampled, and horrendous and horrific acts perpetrated on the people of China who wanted freedom.

But I would say that this resolution does not speak to that question. For if it seriously did, and I believe in human rights and have argued vigorously against the travesties in Rwanda and Burundi and Bosnia and places around the world, we would not want our President not to go and confront the leaders and the tragedy of Tiananmen Square.

We would want our President to stand tall in that square and declare a day of freedom for all of those prisoners who are incarcerated. We would want our President to challenge the Chinese on their own territory about the travesty of the lack of human rights and human dignity in that country.

This resolution is not a resolution to bring about those kinds of acts. It is a partisan one, although I do not in any way argue against those who are committed to the issues of human rights. I know that they are standing on solid ground. I simply ask them to reconsider whether or not any action will come out of this.

I believe it is extremely important that our President go bravely into China, stand up for what America believes in, the human dignity of all people, ask for those incarcerated because of their difference in views to be freed now and immediately. That is what I want the President of the United States to do, to stand for freedom and human rights, to do it and say it loudly and to bring the United Nations along with him. I believe we can do this better if we allow our President to represent us in the way he should.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEARNS).

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution that simply asks President Clinton not to be formally received at the site of Tiananmen Square.

Tiananmen Square is probably the site of the worst government violence

brought upon an unarmed population in the last thirty years, where at least 2000 people were murdered by their own government.

I adamantly believe that the President, in light of explosive allegations that the Chinese military was attempting to funnel illegal campaign donations to political candidates and because of China's weapons and nuclear proliferation, should not even travel to the People's Republic of China at this point.

But if he is, the President must send the strongest signal to China that we will not accept such butchery on an innocent people.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the distinguished minority leader.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY) is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, this debate has been a good debate and I want to thank the committee for bringing it to the floor. The debate is about H. Con. Res. 285, expressing the sense of Congress that the President of the United States should reconsider his decision to be formally received in Tiananmen Square by the government of the People's Republic of China.

It is unusual. I think we have acknowledged that. It is an unusual thing to bring such a resolution to the floor. It is probably even more unusual for the resolution to have been brought to the floor by me or to have been submitted by me. I listened to the debate, and good points were made on both sides of the debate, and I want to thank everybody who participated in the debate.

Why would I do this? It is not my usual posture to suggest that I should describe for the President how and where he should travel, where he should be received when he travels. What would compel me to do this? What compels me is the love of freedom and the scene of that love of freedom that I saw 9 years ago on this day, the young students in China gathered together on Tiananmen Square.

They gathered for the purpose of celebrating freedom and democracy. They gathered for the purpose of hoping and dreaming, wishing, praying and, no doubt, demanding freedom and democracy for themselves. They gathered around them on that square the symbols of freedom that they knew, even from their relatively closed society, they knew symbols of freedom from around the globe. One such symbol of freedom that they knew of was the Statue of Liberty in the United States. The students had built a papier mache model of that statue and it was, I am sure, something of enormous encouragement to them.

Then the troops confronted the students, armed troops, tanks, we have all seen the pictures. We sit there and we wonder why would a lone figure stand in the face of those tanks. Why would the students risk the carnage that they experienced? The same reason people have risked their personal lives and their fortunes and their sacred honor before, for the love of freedom.

They saw during all that carnage their comrades fall, fellow students. They must have been as horrified as we were as we watched the scenes. They saw the symbol of liberty, the Statue of Liberty in papier mache, crushed under the tanks. They later experienced the arrests and some of them are there today.

One of the things I marveled about 9 years ago and one of the things I marvel about today, no matter how rigorously the Government of China keeps the message of freedom out, the message is heard by these young people. I guess there is an old line, with love all things are possible, and with the love of freedom they hear the message of freedom.

They look to America as the peoples of the world look to America for freedom, and they see in America many, many symbols of freedom, the Statue of Liberty that they reproduced. I expect this building is seen by many people around the world and would be seen by these young people today in their prisons or worrying about arrest, this Capitol would be a symbol of freedom. The White House is seen as a symbol of freedom, the eagle.

Mr. Speaker, to most of the world the President of the United States, the American presidency is a symbol of freedom. What an honor. What an honor for this great Nation to have our head of State recognized as a head of State, as a symbol of a thing so precious as freedom.

They saw the Chinese army crush their symbol of freedom and it broke their hearts. Should these young people now see the symbol of freedom, the American presidency, received in Tiananmen Square, celebrated by that same government that was so callous and so cruel, so harsh, so brutal in crushing their love of freedom?

It is not about the President, Mr. Speaker. It is not about the Congress. It is not about you and I. It is not about American business enterprise. It is not about trade. It is about young people with freedom and the love of freedom in their hearts and their hopes and their dreams, who should not have to observe one of the great world symbols of freedom received on what is to them sacred, hallowed ground by the despotic government that crushed their dream.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, nine years ago, the People's Liberation Army and the State Security Forces of the People's Republic of

China turned their weapons on a group of unarmed, peaceful demonstrators who had gathered in the center of Beijing for several weeks to protest the corruption of the communist Chinese government and demand democratic reforms and greater freedom. Many of those who had gathered there were students—the best and brightest of China—but there were also factory workers, older people, families and even party members. They had come to Tiananmen Square—the physical and psychic center of China's capital city—to peacefully petition for change in their government. This peaceful petition was met with bullets and tanks. Between 2,000 and 5,000 people were killed in and around Tiananmen Square by Chinese military and police forces. They were shot in the back as they ran away. They were crushed under tank treads. They were killed by indiscriminate machine gunfire. They put their own lives at risk to save others. They are heroes and martyrs, and we will never know many of their names even though we watched their fate unfold on CNN. We cannot allow their memory to die and we cannot allow what they stood for to be diminished.

By ordering Chinese troops and police to fire on their own people, Jiang Zemin, Li Peng and the rest of the Chinese Politburo earned their place in history. Nothing that has happened since can change this fact. President Clinton seems determined, however, to create his own place in history as the American leader who turned his back on the democracy movement in China in order to avoid offending his authoritarian hosts. The Chinese leadership remains unapologetic about the events of June 4, 1989 and they continue to vilify, imprison and exile these brave democracy activists. By standing in Tiananmen Square with these men, President Clinton lends them and their policies—including the actions of June 4th—the veneer of legitimacy they have sought since that fateful day. This is unacceptable.

Tiananmen Square is more than a vast expanse of concrete in the middle of Beijing through which one must inevitably cross. It is more than a typical example of totalitarian architecture; and it is more than a place for ceremonial receptions of foreign dignitaries. Tiananmen Square evokes a visceral emotional reaction within those of us who followed the events of May and June of 1989. It is the place where we saw the spirit of freedom and democracy living in the faces of tens of thousands of Chinese people. It is also the place where we saw their dreams of freedom and democracy crushed by their own brutal and illegitimate government. In 1989, Jiang Zemin and Li Peng—among others—made the decision to use force against peaceful demonstrators at Tiananmen Square. In June 1998, they will be at Tiananmen Square to greet the President of the United States. I believe that such an act is an insult to the memory of those who died in the Tiananmen Square massacre and those who remain in prison or in exile today as a result of their participation in that historic protest. Is this the message that we want to send to those inside China and around the world who are fighting for freedom and democracy?

I strongly support the substance of this resolution and I am pleased that the House has

seen fit to bring it to the floor today. I believe that it is important that President Clinton visit China, and that the U.S. remain engaged with China. I do not, however, believe that it is inconsistent with engagement to join my colleagues in calling on the President to honor the memory of those brave Chinese men and women who died nine years ago in the name of freedom and democracy by refusing to stand in Tiananmen Square with the architects of the massacre that is synonymous with that place. Engagement does not mean we fail to stand with those who are our values, rather than those who repudiate our values. Engagement does not mean that must allow the Chinese dictatorship to manipulate a visit by the U.S. president to their own political purposes. U.S. policy should not get "beyond Tiananmen Square" until and unless the Chinese government admits that what happened there nine years ago was a mistake and apologizes to the Chinese people for this crime which was committed against them. When that happens, I will be the first one to urge our President to visit Tiananmen Square. Unless he goes to lay a wreath there in memory of the victims of June 4th, however, he should not go to Tiananmen Square on this trip.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

The concurrent resolution is considered as read for amendment.

Pursuant to House Resolution 454, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the concurrent resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 305, nays 116, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 202]

YEAS—305

Abercrombie	Brady (TX)	Crane
Aderholt	Bryant	Crapo
Archer	Bunning	Cubin
Arney	Burton	Cunningham
Bachus	Buyer	Davis (VA)
Baesler	Callahan	Deal
Baker	Calvert	DeFazio
Ballenger	Camp	Delahunt
Barcia	Campbell	DeLauro
Barr	Canady	DeLay
Barrett (NE)	Cannon	Diaz-Balart
Bartlett	Capps	Dickey
Barton	Cardin	Dodgett
Bass	Castle	Doolittle
Bateman	Chabot	Doyle
Bereuter	Chambliss	Dreier
Bilbray	Chenoweth	Duncan
Billrakis	Christensen	Dunn
Bliley	Clay	Ehlers
Blunt	Coble	Ehrlich
Boehert	Coburn	Emerson
Boehner	Collins	English
Bonilla	Combest	Ensign
Bonior	Cook	Etheridge
Bono	Cooksey	Evans
Boswell	Costello	Everett
Boyd	Cox	Ewing

Fawell	Levin	Rohrabacher
Foley	Lewis (CA)	Rothman
Forbes	Lewis (KY)	Roukema
Fossella	Linder	Royce
Fowler	Lipinski	Ryun
Fox	Livingston	Salmon
Franks (NJ)	LoBlondo	Sánchez
Frelinghuysen	Lowey	Sanders
Gallely	Lucas	Sandlin
Ganske	Maloney (CT)	Sanford
Gejdenson	Maloney (NY)	Saxton
Gekas	Manton	Scarborough
Gephardt	Manzullo	Schaefer, Dan
Gibbons	Mascara	Schaefer, Bob
Gilchrest	McCarthy (NY)	Shumer
Gilman	McCollum	Scott
Gingrich	McCrary	Sensenbrenner
Goode	McHale	Sessions
Goodlatte	McHugh	Shadegg
Goodling	McInnis	Shaw
Goss	McIntosh	Shays
Graham	McIntyre	Sherman
Granger	McKeon	Shimkus
Greenwood	McKinney	Shuster
Gutierrez	McNulty	Sisisky
Gutknecht	Meeks (NY)	Skeen
Hall (OH)	Menendez	Slaughter
Hall (TX)	Metcalfe	Smith (MI)
Hansen	Mica	Smith (NJ)
Harman	Miller (CA)	Smith (OR)
Hastert	Miller (FL)	Smith (TX)
Hastings (WA)	Minge	Smith, Linda
Hayworth	Moran (KS)	Snowbarger
Hefley	Morella	Snyder
Herger	Nadler	Solomon
Hill	Nethercutt	Souder
Hilleary	Neumann	Spence
Hinojosa	Ney	Spratt
Hobson	Northup	Stabenow
Hoekstra	Norwood	Stark
Holden	Nussle	Stearns
Hooley	Obey	Stenholm
Horn	Oxley	Strickland
Hostettler	Packard	Stump
Hulshof	Pallone	Sununu
Hunter	Pappas	Talent
Hutchinson	Parker	Tanner
Hyde	Pascrell	Tauscher
Inglis	Paul	Tauzin
Istook	Paxon	Taylor (MS)
Jackson (IL)	Payne	Taylor (NC)
Jenkins	Pease	Thomas
Johnson (CT)	Pelosi	Thompson
Johnson (WI)	Peterson (MN)	Thornberry
Johnson, Sam	Peterson (PA)	Thune
Jones	Petri	Tiahrt
Kasich	Pickering	Trafficant
Kelly	Pitts	Turner
Kennedy (RI)	Pombo	Upton
Kennelly	Pomeroy	Visclosky
Kildee	Porter	Walsh
King (NY)	Portman	Wamp
Kingston	Poshard	Watkins
Klug	Price (NC)	Watts (OK)
Knollenberg	Pryce (OH)	Weldon (FL)
Kolbe	Quinn	Weldon (PA)
Kucinich	Radanovich	Weller
LaHood	Ramstad	White
Lampson	Redmond	Whitfield
Lantos	Regula	Wicker
Largent	Riggs	Wolf
Latham	Riley	Woolsey
LaTourette	Rivers	Young (AK)
Lazlo	Rogan	Young (FL)
Lee	Rogers	

NAYS—116

Ackerman	Carson	Edwards
Allen	Clayton	Eshoo
Andrews	Clement	Farr
Baldacci	Clyburn	Fattah
Barrett (WI)	Condit	Fazio
Becerra	Conyers	Filner
Bentsen	Coyne	Ford
Berman	Cramer	Frost
Berry	Cummings	Gillmor
Bishop	Danner	Gordon
Blagojevich	Davis (FL)	Green
Blumenauer	Davis (IL)	Hamilton
Borski	DeGette	Hastings (FL)
Boucher	Deutsch	Hefner
Brady (PA)	Dicks	Hilliard
Brown (CA)	Dingell	Hinchee
Brown (FL)	Dixon	Houghton
Brown (OH)	Dooley	Hoyer

Jackson-Lee (TX)	McGovern	Sawyer
Jefferson	Meehan	Skaggs
John	Meek (FL)	Skelton
Johnson, E. B.	Millender-	Smith, Adam
Kanjorski	McDonald	Stokes
Kaptur	Mink	Stupak
Kennedy (MA)	Moakley	Thurman
Kilpatrick	Murtha	Tierney
Kim	Neal	Torres
Kind (WI)	Oberstar	Towns
Klecza	Olver	Velázquez
Klink	Ortiz	Vento
LaFalce	Owens	Waters
Leach	Pastor	Watt (NC)
Lofgren	Pickett	Waxman
Luther	Rahall	Wexler
Markey	Rangel	Weygand
Martinez	Rodriguez	Wise
Matsui	Roemer	Wynn
McCarthy (MO)	Roybal-Allard	Yates
McDermott	Rush	
	Sabo	

## NOT VOTING—13

Burr	Lewis (GA)	Reyes
Engel	McDade	Ros-Lehtinen
Frank (MA)	Mollohan	Serrano
Furse	Moran (VA)	
Gonzalez	Myrick	

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Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. OLVER, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. TIERNEY and Mr. MEEHAN changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. MCINNIS, WALSH, MCHUGH, MASCARA and MANTON changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the concurrent resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

## REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 1614

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be removed as a cosponsor from H.R. 1614.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

## CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 1150, AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH, EXTENSION, AND EDUCATION REFORM ACT OF 1998

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to previous order of the House, I call up the conference report on the Senate bill (S. 1150) to ensure that federally funded agricultural research, extension, and education address high-priority concerns with national or multistate significance, to re-

form, extend, and eliminate certain agricultural research programs, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

## UNFUNDED MANDATES POINT OF ORDER

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order under section 425 of the Congressional Budget Act regarding unfunded intergovernmental mandates on every single senior citizen homeowner in America.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, this does increase property taxes on senior citizens, and everybody ought to be listening.

Pursuant to section 426 of the Congressional Budget Act, the language on which this point of order is premised is contained in section 502 of the subtitle A of title V, "Reductions in Payments for Administrative Costs for Food Stamps," of the conference report.

(For section 502, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 22, 1998, page 6426.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York makes a point of order that the conference report violates section 425(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, and according to section 426 (b)(2) of the Act, the gentleman must specify the precise language of his objection in the conference report on which he predicates this point of order.

Having met this threshold burden, the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) and a Member opposed each will control 10 minutes of debate. Pursuant to section 426 (b)(3) of the Act and after debate, the Chair will put the question of consideration, to wit: Will the House now consider the conference report?

Will the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) claim the 10 minutes in opposition?

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I am in opposition.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) will be recognized for 10 minutes in opposition, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

I do want the Members to listen up. It is very, very important. We are about to force every single senior citizen homeowner in America to pay more real estate taxes. That is why I raise this point of order against this unfunded mandate.

This conference report would lower each State's reimbursement for administrative costs in the food stamp program by an amount to be determined by the Secretary of Health and Human Services. That provision, my colleagues, according to CBO would limit the Federal Government's responsibility to provide funding to States and

local governments to cover the administrative costs of the food stamp program.

Mr. Speaker, the National Governors Association opposes this provision, and almost every single individual governor in America has expressed outright hostility to this renegeing on them and putting more costs on our States and our local governments, and that is wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I mentioned CBO had scored this legislation as exceeding the unfunded mandate threshold in the law, which is \$50 million. In fact, those costs on the States are much, much higher, in the hundreds of millions of dollars in administrative costs to our individual States and each one of our counties and cities and towns and villages that we represent. And that is according to the National Governors Association, my colleagues.

Overall, this represents a cost shift from the Federal Government to the States as high in my State of New York as \$280 million, \$280 million, of which local governments are going to have to pay 25 percent of that cost. That is what we are leveling on our senior citizens. What that means, Mr. Speaker, is a "yes" vote for this unfunded mandate is a vote to increase property taxes on every single one of our homeowners that own a home in America.

Mr. Speaker, there are so many families living in my district on fixed incomes that it is almost impossible today for them to even pay the taxes. As my colleagues know, we have tremendous school taxes and land taxes, all of which are caused by the cost of welfare. When State and local governments are forced to raise taxes and ordered to pay for this unfunded mandate from Washington it is going to get even worse.

Taken together, this legislation reserves a fundamental principle of the American majority, of the Republican majority in this House, returning power and influence to the States and letting them not be saddled with these terrible unfunded mandates.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time in order to let other people speak as strongly as I have.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I have the utmost and greatest respect for my friend from New York. But I must, Mr. Speaker, correct the issue here because without question this is an unfunded mandate, and we are asking our colleagues to recognize what kind of an unfunded mandate this truly is. Certainly not in the minds of those who passed the unfunded mandate law, but indeed by decision, this is an unfunded mandate. How did it occur?

These are funds, Mr. Speaker, that were allocated to the States as a cushion should the welfare rolls go up and

we have a huge downturn in the economy. They are funds that we do not anticipate being used, certainly in the near future, maybe not ever, so they are funds residing within each of the States that may never be used. That is because of the action of this Congress in reducing the welfare rolls by requiring people to work and by reducing the need for food stamps.

So if these funds were not used in the manner in which we have provided to our colleagues in the conference committee report, they would be used for some other purpose, maybe for highways, maybe for other purposes. Certainly there is a great demand for the use of these funds. This in no way is an increase in property taxes, this is in no way an increase in senior citizens' costs, in no way.

Mr. Speaker, let me also advise my colleagues, particularly from these States: California, New York, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Washington, and recently Texas, that funds are already being used, State funds, for the very purposes that we talk about here in the bill and in the conference committee report regarding legal aliens' food stamps. Already States are paying, through State coffers, for these exact kinds of funds for food stamps for illegal aliens. Therefore, the passage of this bill will relieve States like New York and Texas and other States who may choose to substitute the conference committee report for State funds.

It makes great sense to pass this. Believe me, not addressing the unfunded mandate kills the conference committee report.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1930

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know, I have heard of smoke and mirrors in my lifetime, but let me tell you, I have been a town mayor, I have been a county legislator, I have been a State legislator, and nobody knows more about this welfare system in this country than I do.

Let me tell you, when you take away the administrative cost of this, you are going to give them something on one hand and take something away on the other. Let me tell you, that is smoke and mirrors.

This letter from the Governors Association says this would deny several hundred million dollars in food stamps and Medicaid funding from New York State alone, and \$3.6 billion in Federal costs to the States by forcing States to absorb food stamp and Medicaid administrative costs, and it goes on and on and on.

Let me tell you, in New York State, and I think it is the same in most

every State in the Union, the local share is raised by property taxes. That means that older Americans that are paying property taxes today are going to have to pay that increase, a very substantial increase, to pay for somebody else's food stamps in another area.

That is wrong. If you are going to give those food stamps, at least pay for them out of Federal coffers, and do not force local governors to raise property taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM), the ranking member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I must say I was reminded of the famous quote of Will Rogers, when he observed that, "it ain't people's ignorance that bothers me so much, it is them knowing so much that ain't so is the problem."

The gentleman from New York is totally nonfactual in what he was saying. All States are not affected by this bill. States are affected only to the extent they charge common AFDC food stamp administrative costs, and the only States that will be detrimentally affected are those that have been double-dipping, and that is something that we would not want to see done.

First, make no mistake about it, a vote against consideration of S. 1150 will kill the bill, and that is what the gentleman from New York honestly wants to do, is kill this bill. Funding for crop insurance research and rural development and nutrition will be denied.

Now, Federal mandates are generally thought of as any provision that imposes an enforceable duty upon a State, except as a condition of Federal assistance. The original intent was simply to require the Federal Government to pay for requirements placed on States. The Committee on Rules identified the purpose of the unfunded mandates bill as being to prevent Congress from passing feel-good legislation that transfers the cost burden from the Federal Government to State and local governments, for example, the Occupational Safety Health Act, the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act.

The provision we are considering in this bill today is unlike any of these. Technically, a Federal intergovernmental mandate is any provision that relates to a program which provides \$500,000 annually to States if the provision would decrease funding to the State and the State lacks authority to amend their programmatic responsibility.

An unintended consequence of the 1996 welfare reform bill allows States

to shift administrative costs previously charged to the AFDC program and already included in their Temporary Assistance for Needy Families grants, the TANF block grants, to the food stamp program. The result is duplication of Federal administrative reimbursement to States for the same activity, since these costs are included in the TANF block grants and would be matched at a 50 percent rate by the food stamp program.

S. 1150 would close this loophole by annually adjusting States' claims for administrative cost reimbursement by the amount that was included in their TANF block grants for the same purpose. The CBO has identified this provision of S. 1150 as an unfunded mandate relative to the food stamp program because there would be a reduction in funding for that program without a commensurate reduction in administrative requirements.

While this determination is technically correct for the food stamp program in isolation, the provision is drafted to deal with interaction between the two programs. Therefore, when the provision in question is examined from a broader perspective, it prevents States from being overfunded due to the combined effects of TANF block grants and the change in the food stamp cost allocation methodology.

It is difficult to see the provision as an unfunded mandate in this light. Without S. 1150, CBO estimates payments to States for food stamp administrative costs will be \$2.5 billion more than prior to welfare reform. Even with enactment of this conference report, States will receive over \$800 million more for administrative costs than they were projected to receive prior to enactment of welfare reform.

Welfare reform was never intended to allow States free access to the Federal Treasury, to double-dip for reimbursements to carry out these programs. I certainly am speaking for the State of Texas, who has informed me they support what we are attempting to do for the reason that the gentleman from Oregon (Chairman SMITH) mentioned a moment ago. We are one of those States that will, in fact, benefit fairly from the passage of this act, and double-dipping or having an unlimited access to the Federal Treasury is something I believe this body would not want us to do.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say to the previous speaker, you know, he says, "All SOLOMON wants to do is kill the bill." The gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) came here when I did 20 years ago. The gentleman knows that I represent an agricultural district in this country. We are the 20th largest dairy-producing district in America. The last thing I want to do is kill this

bill. I just want the Federal Government to pay for it and not saddle the local property taxes with the costs.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. BARTON) to counter what the other gentleman from Texas just said.

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I will enter into the record a letter received by every Member of Congress from the National Conference of State Legislators, dated June 4, 1998, signed by Representative Tom Johnson, Ohio House of Representatives.

It says, "As reported by the conference committee, S. 1150 contains a substantial unfunded mandate to States, confirmed repeatedly by CBO, that not only violates the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act but breaks the agreement crafted by the Congress and the States on welfare reform. The proposed offset reducing the Federal reimbursement rate for State food stamp administration represents a \$1.7 billion cost shift to States without similar reduction in programmatic responsibilities required under the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act."

The National Conference of State Legislators supports the point of order of the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON).

Mr. Speaker, under the savings that were found in the conference, there were \$2 billion of administrative cost savings found in the overall administration of the food stamp program. The conferees allocated \$800 million to restore benefits for certain categories of legal aliens in this country. That is 40 percent of the increase. They did provide an additional \$500 million for crop insurance and \$600 million in a new program for agricultural research and an additional \$100 million for other agriculture research programs.

Those are good programs that would stand the scrutiny of this House. I am not sure that \$800 million restoration of food stamp benefits for legal aliens would withstand the scrutiny of this House if we had a full vote.

I hope we would sustain the point of order of the gentleman from New York (Chairman SOLOMON). Let us eliminate the unfunded mandates that are in this bill. Let us report out the money for the farmers and the research universities that needs to be reported and then work on the food stamp program as a stand-alone issue.

Mr. Speaker, I include the letter from Representative Tom Johnson for the RECORD.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF STATE LEGISLATURES,  
Washington, DC, June 4, 1998.

DEAR MEMBER OF CONGRESS: The National Conference of State Legislatures fully supports the Rules Committee's decision to allow a point of order on S. 1150, the Agricultural Research bill and urges you to support

the point of order when it is raised by Representatives Rob Portman and Gary Condit.

As reported by the conference committee, S. 1150 contains a substantial unfunded mandate to states (confirmed repeatedly by CBO) that not only violates the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act (UMRA) but breaks the agreement crafted by the Congress and states on Welfare Reform. The proposed offset reducing the federal reimbursement rate for state Food Stamp administration represents a \$1.7 billion cost shift to states without similar reduction in programmatic responsibilities required under UMRA.

The National Conference of State Legislatures has long been supportive of efforts to restore Food Stamp benefits to legal immigrants; however, we vehemently oppose the funding of these benefits through a reduction in federal Food Stamp administrative reimbursement to states. It is disingenuous for the Congress to solve one cost shift to states by imposing another.

We urge you to support the point of order on S. 1150 and look forward to continued partnership with the Congress in restoring Food Stamp benefits to legal immigrants.

Sincerely,

TOM JOHNSON,  
Ohio House of Representatives, Chair,  
NCSL Federal Budget & Taxation Committee.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST).

Mr. COMBEST. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report includes a provision that corrects an unintentional consequence in the 1996 welfare law reform. That provision would have allowed some States to be paid twice for the same administrative costs for determining eligibility for food stamps. That is corrected in the conference report.

What we are presented with is a situation in which it is an obvious windfall extra payment to some States that must be corrected. If I were one of those States or representing one of those States, I would probably like to be a part of the recipient of \$2.5 billion of Federal money that is not due to those States. If in fact that is the desire of Members, to give them \$2.5 billion more than is necessary, then vote with the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON). If it is not and you have a desire to see the bill continue to move forward, vote on the position of the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SAM JOHNSON), one of the most respected Members of this body.

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, you know, it is funny that we pass welfare reform and then turn around the next year and destroy it. It is also kind of funny that we have a provision in here that does not address just crop insurance and agricultural research, which is what we should be addressing. Instead, we add to it a bunch of unfunded mandates, which has been admitted by the Committee on Agri-

culture chairman, and those same unfunded mandates that are coming out of our hide are going to be asked of the Committee on Ways and Means again, we just learned today, to take another \$16 billion out of this very same program.

Somewhere, the well runs dry. We have to pay the piper. It is time to stand on the laws that we passed. It is time to stand with our welfare reform and not suck the States into more spending.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY), also a member of the conference committee.

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, I think every Member has to fully understand what would happen if you vote with the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) on this point of order. You would ensure that we would not provide the largest increase in agriculture research which will benefit U.S. farmers in a generation. You will ensure we will not provide the crop insurance money which is vitally needed by a lot of farmers struggling out there.

A year ago, we passed welfare reform by a large bipartisan margin. That welfare reform decreased AFDC benefits, it decreased food stamp benefits, and it was certainly not the intention of those who supported welfare reform to increase administrative payments to the States.

What we are doing with this legislation is ensuring we are going to have a commensurate reduction in the administrative costs to the administration of the welfare programs. This is a sound fiscal approach. The States should not be allowed to double-dip when we are reducing their obligations under our welfare reform policies.

Ensure that we can maintain the agricultural research funding. Ensure that we can maintain the crop insurance funding. Vote against the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON).

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON), a member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I also want to emphasize the fact that this may be an unfunded mandate in its technical sense, but you have a way to close this and you also have a way of correcting the unintended result.

Please know when you vote yes for the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON), you vote against agricultural research, you vote against crop insurance, and you vote against the opportunity to correct something that we should not have had in the first place. Plus you do good by allowing legal immigrants to have food they so desperately need, particularly children and senior citizens and the disabled.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the final 30 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, I would just point out again to Members that this unfunded mandate does not impact States because they are not in a position to use it, as has been indicated by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) and others. They are in no position to use it. It is excess money that will never be used.

Here is a chance to reinvigorate agriculture, for crop insurance, for research and for food stamps for legal aliens in this country. Here is our chance to do it. If you vote for the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON), you lose that opportunity. Please vote no.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, let us clear the record here. The worst thing we can do is to not use accurate figures. In a few minutes we are going to take up the budget for 1999, and I want Members to look at it very carefully, because in that budget we are going to knock off another \$16 billion out of this same category, okay? Where is that money coming from? Your State and local governments are going to pick up that. In this alone, we are talking about \$3.6 billion. My good friend from North Carolina, and I have great respect for her, she says that this is a vote against crop insurance and ag research. Let me tell Members what a no vote does here right now. A no vote is to not go forward; and if we carry the no vote, it means that the bill rests on the calendar until we find a better way to pay for it and not mandate this expense on your counties and towns and cities and villages.

□ 1945

We have until June 30 to solve the crop insurance program. Nothing is in danger. We have got another 3 weeks here.

So I ask you to vote "no" so that it stays on the calendar so we have time to come here with a manager's amendment from my very good friend, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH), who is articulate and very innovative about finding ways to pay for things, and we will pay for this and not mandate it on local governments.

Having said that, Mr. Speaker, you all should vote for every homeowner in America and vote no to go forward at this time, and we will take that bill up in a few days when we find a way to legitimately pay for it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Point of parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I am attempting to determine how Members are going to analyze this vote. This is a vote, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, regular order here. What is the gentleman doing?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his point of inquiry.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Is this a vote to proceed?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question before the House is: Will the House now consider the conference report?

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 324, nays 91, not voting 18, as follows:

[Roll No. 203]

YEAS—324

Abercrombie	Costello	Hayworth
Ackerman	Cox	Hefner
Aderholt	Coyne	Hill
Allen	Cramer	Hilleary
Andrews	Cummings	Hilliard
Bachus	Danner	Hinojosa
Baesler	Davis (FL)	Hobson
Baker	Davis (IL)	Hoekstra
Baldacci	Davis (VA)	Holden
Ballenger	DeFazio	Hooley
Barcia	DeGette	Horn
Barrett (NE)	Delahunt	Houghton
Barrett (WI)	DeLauro	Hulshof
Bateman	Deutsch	Hunter
Becerra	Diaz-Balart	Hutchinson
Bentsen	Dickey	Hyde
Bereuter	Dicks	Jackson (IL)
Berman	Dingell	Jackson-Lee
Berry	Dixon	(TX)
Bishop	Doggett	Jefferson
Blagojevich	Dooley	Jenkins
Blumenauer	Doyle	John
Blunt	Dunn	Johnson (CT)
Boehlert	Edwards	Johnson (WI)
Boehner	Ehlers	Johnson, E. B.
Bonilla	Emerson	Kanjorski
Bonior	Eshoo	Kaptur
Bono	Etheridge	Kasich
Borski	Evans	Kelly
Boswell	Everett	Kennedy (MA)
Boucher	Ewing	Kennedy (RI)
Boyd	Farr	Kennelly
Brady (PA)	Fattah	Kildee
Brady (TX)	Fazio	Kilpatrick
Brown (CA)	Fillner	Kim
Brown (FL)	Foley	Kind (WI)
Brown (OH)	Forbes	King (NY)
Bunning	Ford	Kleczka
Burton	Fox	Klink
Buyer	Franks (NJ)	Klug
Callahan	Frellichhuysen	Knollenberg
Calvert	Frost	Kolbe
Camp	Ganske	Kucinich
Campbell	Gejdenson	LaFalce
Canady	Gekas	LaHood
Capps	Gephardt	Lampson
Cardin	Gilchrest	Lantos
Carson	Goodling	Latham
Castle	Gordon	LaTourette
Chambliss	Graham	Lazio
Christensen	Granger	Leach
Clay	Green	Lee
Clayton	Gutierrez	Levin
Clement	Gutknecht	Lewis (CA)
Clyburn	Hall (OH)	Lewis (KY)
Combest	Hall (TX)	Linder
Conyers	Hamilton	Lipinski
Cook	Hansen	LoBiondo
Cooksey	Hastings (FL)	Lofgren

Lowey	Pascrell	Smith (NJ)
Lucas	Pastor	Smith (OR)
Luther	Payne	Smith, Adam
Maloney (CT)	Pease	Smith, Linda
Maloney (NY)	Peterson (MN)	Snowbarger
Manton	Peterson (PA)	Snyder
Martinez	Pickering	Souder
Mascara	Pickett	Spratt
Matsul	Pitts	Stabenow
McCarthy (MO)	Pomeroy	Stark
McCarthy (NY)	Portman	Stearns
McCollum	Poshard	Stenholm
McCrery	Price (NC)	Stokes
McDermott	Pryce (OH)	Strickland
McGovern	Quinn	Stupak
McHale	Radanovich	Talent
McInnis	Rahall	Tanner
McIntyre	Ramstad	Tauscher
McKeon	Rangel	Tauzin
McKinney	Redmond	Thomas
McNulty	Regula	Thompson
Meehan	Riggs	Thornberry
Meek (FL)	Riley	Thune
Meeks (NY)	Rivers	Thurman
Menendez	Rodriguez	Tierney
Metcalf	Roemer	Torres
Millender-McDonald	Rogan	Towns
Miller (CA)	Rogers	Turner
Minge	Rothman	Upton
Mink	Roybal-Allard	Velázquez
Moakley	Rush	Vento
Moran (KS)	Ryun	Visclosky
Morella	Sabo	Walsh
Murtha	Sánchez	Waters
Nadler	Sanders	Watkins
Neal	Sandlin	Watt (NC)
Nethercutt	Sawyer	Watts (OK)
Northup	Schaffer, Bob	Waxman
Norwood	Schumer	Weldon (PA)
Nussle	Scott	Weller
Oberstar	Serrano	Wexler
Obey	Shays	Weygand
Olver	Sherman	White
Ortiz	Shimkus	Wicker
Owens	Sisisky	Wise
Oxley	Skaggs	Wolf
Packard	Skeen	Woolsey
Pallone	Skelton	Wynn
Parker	Slaughter	Young (AK)
	Smith (MI)	

NAYS—91

Archer	Fowler	Petri
Armey	Galleghy	Pombo
Barr	Gibbons	Porter
Bartlett	Gillmor	Rohrabacher
Barton	Gilman	Roukema
Bass	Goode	Royce
Bilbray	Goodlatte	Salmon
Blirakis	Goss	Sanford
Bliley	Greenwood	Saxton
Bryant	Hastert	Scarborough
Cannon	Hastings (WA)	Schaefer, Dan
Chabot	Hefley	Sensenbrenner
Chenoweth	Herger	Sessions
Coble	Hinchee	Shadegg
Coburn	Hostettler	Shaw
Collins	Inglis	Shuster
Condit	Istook	Smith (TX)
Crane	Johnson, Sam	Solomon
Crapo	Jones	Spence
Cubin	Kingston	Stump
Cunningham	Largent	Sununu
Deal	Livingston	Taylor (MS)
DeLay	Manzullo	Taylor (NC)
Doolittle	McHugh	Tiahrt
Dreier	McIntosh	Trafficant
Duncan	Mica	Wamp
Ehrlich	Miller (FL)	Wendon (FL)
English	Neumann	Whitfield
Ensign	Pappas	Young (FL)
Fawell	Paul	
Fossella	Paxon	

NOT VOTING—18

Burr	Hoyer	Myrick
Engel	Lewis (GA)	Ney
Frank (MA)	Markey	Pelosi
Furse	McDade	Reyes
Gonzalez	Mollohan	Ros-Lehtinen
Harman	Moran (VA)	Yates

□ 2005

Messrs. ARMEY, CRAPO, DREIER, WAMP, GILLMOR, PORTER,

BILBRAY, INGLIS of South Carolina, and EHRLICH changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

So the question of consideration was decided in the affirmative.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Pursuant to the rule, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement see proceedings of the House of Wednesday, April 22, 1998, at page H2171.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the conference committee report on S. 1150.

Mr. Speaker, first I want to thank members of the conference committee who were responsible for bringing this issue to us after long and deliberate discussion, dating back to last year, in fact, with the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) and the Committee on Agriculture discussions on this very issue, but especially the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST) and the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BARRETT) who served with us, and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) and the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY), who with myself made up the House side of the conference committee.

I want to say first, Mr. Speaker, that this is a transfer of spending, as most Members understand, mandatory spending to mandatory spending. We have rearranged the priorities here, and we have rearranged them in a way which we think is most beneficial to agriculture, but certainly takes into consideration food stamps to legal aliens as well.

In fact, as some have already identified, the Members' conference committee is bringing to them a bill which provides for \$600 million of research money, which we think is the backbone of the future of agriculture. We know it is imperative that we pass crop insurance, and finally we have a 5-year program, mandatory spending at \$500 million for crop insurance, which again is going to be used, by the way, by the end of this month, and therefore it is essential that we act, and act today.

Of course, there is a \$100 million program for rural development, which all of us in rural areas of America would support, as well as the food stamp money, which is \$800 million, to compose totally the so-called unfunded mandate which we just discussed, of about \$2 billion.

The urgency of the conference committee report, Mr. Speaker, is simply, as I mentioned, that we must provide a solid program for crop insurance. Risk management is an essential part of the future of agriculture, as is research. So those two factors are addressed directly in this conference committee report.

We have not only provided for crop insurance, but through innovative management we have reduced the cost to taxpayers of some \$500 million, so the passage of this research bill will essentially provide a savings of some \$500 million in crop insurance itself. As I mentioned, the whole program for crop insurance is now \$500 million.

The conference committee report was carefully balanced to offset further reductions in excess food stamp spending, and represents, and I want to underline this, represents no net increase in spending. So if budgeteers are listening, there is no net increase in spending. The conference committee accomplished the most substantive reforms to our agricultural research infrastructure in more than 20 years.

If there is another part of the responsibility of government besides risk management, it is certainly research, because those of us who have found that it is the responsibility of government to provide help in research know that is the underpinning of a huge agricultural export program for this country. We export almost \$60 billion, Mr. Speaker, of agricultural commodities to foreign countries. The reason we do that is because we are the most competitive Nation in the world, bar none, in the production of foods and fiber. That is why we can be competitive in the world, and it is the result of research that has been successfully done in the past.

Let me give some examples. For instance, one that most of us know about, I know more, from Oregon now, than I did before, having traveled to Georgia, but the whole question of the boll weevil, the control of the boll weevil has restored cotton production to much of the South, a huge breakthrough for agriculture in America.

The genetically modified organisms that we have heard about, BT corn, Roundup Ready soybeans, the increase in grain crop production and yields, the protections for food safety, all are part of this research program, of which we are quite proud.

Yes, it does include some money for legal aliens coming into this country. Listen to who they are, please: the elderly, over 65, living in this country since August 22, 1996; the disabled, legal noncitizens, living in this country since August 22, 1996; and children under the age of 18, living in this country since before August 22nd of 1996. All of these people must have lived here before August 22, 1996.

We invited them here. They are legal; not citizens, but they are legal aliens. We have invited them to this country.

□ 2015

And if, for a small time, it is our responsibility to help them with food stamps, it is my belief we ought to do that.

Mr. Speaker, this is the most important agricultural issue and bill that Members will vote on in this session of Congress, without question. This is a huge advance for agriculture production in America, and it is a huge advance for agricultural people and farmers.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this conference report, and I want to begin by acknowledging and thanking the gentleman from Oregon (Chairman SMITH), the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST), the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BARRETT), and the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY) for their work on the conference that brings us this report tonight, a result of months of hard work by Members on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, a number of significant differences between the House and the Senate bill had to be reconciled during conference. I believe the legislation we bring now is a fair and balanced compromise among those competing priorities.

This legislation provides for a number of improvements in our system to conduct and deliver information from federally funded agricultural research. It increases producer input into the research process and authorizes research in several new and important areas such as nutrient management, food safety, and crop diversification.

In addition, this conference report reprioritizes the spending which falls under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Agriculture to provide critically needed resources to a number of important national priorities. By limiting the States' ability to shift administrative cost to the Federal Government, this legislation prevents States from circumventing welfare reform while at the same time providing necessary funding for agricultural research, crop insurance, rural development and nutrition programs.

Despite the fact that this bill results in a \$1.2 billion reduction in Federal spending for food stamps, S. 1150 has still won support from nutrition advocates. This legislation enjoys broad support because it reprioritizes spending in the food stamp program to provide needed benefits for those who cannot move to self-sufficiency as envisioned by the recent welfare reform, such as the elderly, disabled, and children. And for those refugees and

asylees who are fleeing political and religious persecution, it provides a realistic time frame to make application for United States citizenship.

In addition, this bill fulfills a commitment made by our government during the Vietnam war to some unfamiliar people, the Hmongs and the Highland Laotians who assisted our military during the Vietnam era. As a result of providing assistance to our military, these people suffered terribly at the hands of Communists. By supporting this legislation, we can provide assistance to those who fought so bravely for us.

S. 1150 will provide funding certainty for the crop insurance program. Farmers will no longer have to worry if crop insurance will be delivered, nor will bankers who require it. But although S. 1150 provides this certainty, make no mistake about it; much more needs to be done. We must continue to search for new and innovative ways to improve the program in order to provide meaningful risk management for our farmers.

In terms of budget discipline, S. 1150 is a perfect example of what balancing the budget is all about. Unlike other bills recently considered which provide no offsetting reductions in spending, this bill will not result in increased government expenditures as was stated by the gentleman from Oregon (Chairman SMITH). I underline that. We do not balance the budget by creating new spending but by redirecting existing resources to needed areas.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation simply reprioritizes existing funds from within the agriculture function. From my perspective, that is the very definition of budget discipline.

This bill does not create unlimited spending but limits it by closing a loophole that the States could use to shift costs to the Federal Government, costs that were funded as a result of welfare reform. We are simply looking at agriculture, rural development, and nutritional needs and reprioritizing our existing resources to address current problems.

If we are going to successfully address problem areas, our programs cannot remain static. With limited resources we have to have the ability to address issues as they arise.

So if Members care about agricultural research, if they care with rural communities, if they want to save farmers' crop insurance, if they are concerned about reducing hunger in America, I urge them to support passage of this conference report. It is a responsible and balanced piece of legislation.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST).

Mr. COMBEST. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to again re-emphasize the title of this conference report as the Agricultural Research Extension and Education Reform Act of 1998. Initially, I would like to join with Chairman SMITH in also thanking him but also thank our colleagues, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM), the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY), and the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BARRETT) for their hard work and cooperation in bringing the conference report to the floor.

This has been a bipartisan effort from the start, and it represents a lot of hard work on the part of a lot of Members. Agricultural research has brought us a multitude of results, from the mass production of penicillin to the sixfold increase in today's agricultural productivity. For American agriculture to continue to be profitable and competitive in the global economy, it is critical that we maintain strong agricultural research programs.

As chairman of the subcommittee with jurisdiction over ag research, I presided over four hearings which provided the basis for crafting this bill. We worked diligently to improve upon the structure of research education and extension. We increase competition and maximize the research by leveraging private dollars with limited Federal funds.

As we know, this conference report contains several provisions which were not in the House research bill. S. 1150 is the product of some very tough negotiations in conference. In the end, we meet our responsibilities to the truly needy, to the farmers who feed them and the researchers and crops insurers who support them; and we do this by putting unspent Ag Department funds to work.

The funding for food stamps is limited primarily to the truly needed among immigrants who legally entered this country prior to the 1996 welfare reform. Children, the elderly, and the disabled will be included in the coverage. Let me stress, no food stamps will be given to new immigrants, only to needy immigrants legally here on or before August 22, 1996.

This is by no means a wholesale repeal of the provisions of welfare reform. Those who can and should work will still be required to do so. No immigrant who came here after August 22, 1996, will be able to receive food stamps.

The funding for the crop insurance program and ag research programs fulfill a commitment that the last Congress made to our farmers and ranchers. With the passage of the 1996 farm bill, Congress reduced the direct payments farmers have historically received to offset the natural risk of farming. In return, Congress promised to provide better risk management, production and marketing tools to maintain farmers' competitive advantages in the global market.

Mr. Speaker, passage of this conference report is critical to America's farmers and ranchers. They deserve our support. I commend this to our colleagues, and I would urge them to support this conference report.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. FARR).

(Mr. FARR of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, today we have an opportunity to pass bipartisan legislation built by broad coalition. This should have been a no-brainer, but, once again, the House leadership decided to attack the most vulnerable of our society. I commend my colleagues for their strong vote on opposing the previous rule on May 22 and ask them to join me in supporting this bipartisan legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of S. 1150, the Agricultural Research, Extension and Education Reform Act, and I would like to thank the hard work of the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH), our chairman; the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST); the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY); and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM); along with their staff, for crafting this legislation that is so important to the central coast of California and to the rest of the Nation.

The farmers in my district are the most productive specialty crop growers in the world. They produce over \$2.2 billion worth of fresh fruits, vegetables, and horticultural crops each year. I represent the "Salad Bowl" of the country. The agriculture industry is the backbone of the communities in my district, and they do this without Federal price supports.

In this highly competitive field of agriculture, research is one of the few ways that the Federal Government can help my farmers. The new money in the Initiative for Future Agriculture and Food Systems will jump-start our efforts on emerging technologies as farming moves into the 21st century. The partnerships for high-value agriculture product quality research will give farmers and researchers the ability to work in conjunction with each other to address a wide range of opportunities facing the research community, including production, packaging technology, and value-added enterprises in rural areas.

Mr. Speaker, the bill contains for the first time an initiative for organic farming and will help this niche market continue to grow. We have barely begun to tap the full potential of organic farming systems today. This initiative will provide competitive grants to facilitate the development of organic agriculture production, processing, and potential economic benefits associated with both domestic and foreign markets.

Lastly, I think we have an obligation to provide food assistance to those who fell through the cracks when we restored the SSI benefits to the elderly and disabled last year. This conference report restores the nutritional safety net for 250,000 legal immigrant adults and children who were indiscriminately cut off from the food stamp rolls.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make sure that this debate is based upon the manner in which this bill was brought to the floor, that is, with respect and restraint. Now, the facts are that if it were not for the leadership, this bill would not be on the floor. And I will say that one more time. If it were not for the leadership, this bill would not be on the floor.

So from this point on, I hope that this discussion continues on a bipartisan basis, because that is the only way this bill will pass.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BARRETT).

Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I, of course, rise to urge the adoption of the conference report, S. 1150, and am very pleased, incidentally, to see the House is considering this bill this evening.

The Federal Government's investment in research, except for agricultural research, has increased dramatically over the last several years. The reality is that spending on ag research has barely kept up with the rate of inflation. As a matter of fact, this is the first time that agricultural research has been seriously reevaluated in about 25 years. This bill would correct that situation and provide a total of, as has been mentioned, \$600 million over 5 years to boost research for agriculture.

Today, we are at a critical juncture. The 1996 farm bill charted the course for a free market in agriculture. Unfortunately, this year we are experiencing for the first time since passage of that bill a depressed market for agriculture. If Congress does not resist the call to open the farm bill, we could end up seriously distorting our markets, reversing a positive trend toward a free market in agriculture and losing credibility with many of our trading partners.

Agriculture research can help this situation. It could help with the depressed prices by developing new uses and markets for our products and through teaching programs that help farmers and ranchers learn new marketing techniques.

Congress' support for this bill gives agriculture a confidence boost. Farmers and the industry will know that Congress is interested in agriculture and will support it in the future, even if we do not support it in the old way with subsidies and acreage controls. This new way is much more positive.

We support research, new and expanded markets for our products, and less restrictions on private land.

Let me say a few words to my friends who are opposed to the bill because it restores food stamps to some legal immigrants. I understand the controversy that this creates for many. I have the same concerns. I supported welfare reform in 1996. I believe, however, that the Congress can do more to further reduce the dependence on and the size and the cost of government. However, I think there are times when one has to swallow the good with the bad; and I think this is one of those times, Mr. Speaker. And in this case, I think the good far outweighs the bad.

Congress is about compromise. We come from all parts of the country. We have widely divergent political and ideological backgrounds, but we are here to achieve the best we can for this country. This conference report is the best thing that we could do for agriculture right now, and we need Members' support.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly encourage all of my colleagues to support the bill.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW).

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Ms. STABENOW. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to strongly support the conference committee for agricultural research and to first commend our chairman and ranking member, as well as the Chair and ranking member of the subcommittee who have worked so hard.

This is truly a bipartisan bill. It is good for production agriculture and it is good for families in Michigan. It is good for families across the country. We have heard tonight about the important need for crop insurance, critical agricultural research, food and nutrition programs, and I want to speak just a moment about food safety.

My good friend, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT) and I introduced a safe food action plan just a number of months ago. Two critical provisions of that are in this legislation: making food safety a top priority for research, and creating a crisis management team to respond in the case of an emergency in a very rapid fashion. Today also at Michigan State University, where we have a national food safety and toxicology program, we are doing a two-day national research institution conference to focus on risk factors for food safety. Today's action could not come at a better time.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EWING), a member of the committee.

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time. I thank all on the conference committee for the hard work on this important

bill, S. 1150, the Agricultural Research, Extension and Education Reform Act of 1998.

This is the first comprehensive overhaul of agricultural research programs in over 20 years. This is quite an impressive accomplishment. It provides \$600 million over the next five years for research. This conference report funds important agricultural research programs, vital crop insurance, rural development programs, and restores food stamps for some legal aliens.

S. 1150 is fully offset from savings from food stamp programs. There is no budget impact with this legislation. If American farmers are to compete in the world of free trade, the commitment that we made in the Freedom to Farm Act must be provided. This is a step in that direction. Crop insurance, research, these are very important elements of keeping the Freedom to Farm movement going in America.

In my part of the country the corn is up, the beans are in the field, and the wheat is green, and it is time that we give them their crop insurance program and let them know what it is so they can move ahead.

This bill also creates some exciting new research opportunities, improving the productivity and efficiency and generating, I think, a better environment, higher quality air and safer and more affordable food products for American consumers. This legislation also establishes an animal waste management research initiative, something we hear so much about today when we talk about confinement livestock operations.

Mr. Speaker, this is an excellent bill. It is time that we move on. Parts of it are very time sensitive, particularly the crop insurance portion. I hope that we will give this a resounding "yes" vote tonight. Again, my thanks to the chairman and all on the conference committee.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE).

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding time to me. Let me also congratulate the chairman and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) and other members of the committee for bringing this conference report to us. I commend the Republican leadership for bringing this report to the floor.

I hope we now realize it is time to stop balancing the budget on the backs of farmers. Farmers have taken it on the chin, and it is time that we show our support for the people who risk so much to produce the safest, most abundant food supply in the world.

This conference report passed the Senate by 92 to 8. We should pass it in a similar margin in the House. Nothing could have highlighted more the support for this bill than our failure to

pass it prior to the Memorial Day recess. I certainly heard about it. I am sure others did.

Americans want to support their farmers. Americans want farm communities to be made whole after a disaster. Americans want research reform that will make our food cheaper and safer. Americans want research reform that makes production agriculture environmentally friendly, and Americans want this bill passed.

The most important part of this legislation or at least one of the more important ones, in my opinion, is the provision on crop insurance. With the traditional safety net for farmers disappearing, crop insurance is the one barrier to ruin for farm families from natural disaster. Maybe the only one left.

In North Carolina farmers have been faced with two hurricane seasons in a row. Without a healthy insurance system in place, many farmers in these communities would have been ruined. This is a good bill for farmers in their communities, which means it is a good bill for all Americans.

I urge Members to cast their votes in favor of these hard-working Americans and the programs that they depend on. Vote "yes" on the conference report.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS).

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this conference report. I would like to take a moment to congratulate the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM), the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST) and the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY) for the great job they did in putting this ag bill together.

In 1996 we passed a farm bill that is a very historic farm bill, a farm bill that is a 7-year bill instead of the normal 5-year bill, a farm bill that participated in the balanced budget process, a farm bill that moves agriculture into the 21st century, and a farm bill that gets the Federal Government off the farm and allows our farmers to do what they do best and grow the very finest agriculture products of anybody in the world. In that farm bill we phase out commodity support prices over that 7-year period.

The Federal Government has got to stay involved in agriculture in three areas: Number one, we have got to stay involved from a market standpoint. We have got to move forward to continue to open markets for our agriculture products.

Secondly, we have to provide a safety net, a safety net in the form of a good substantive crop insurance program.

Thirdly, the Federal Government has got to stay involved in the area of research.

Why do we need crop insurance? The year 1997 was a disastrous one in my

section of the country from an ag perspective. Going into July we had the most beautiful crops we had ever had and then the rain stopped. We had 60 days of drought, when yields started decreasing and the sun took its toll. Then the rain started again in September and El Nino brought rains into February and March, and our farmers were unable to get their crops out of the field. Crop insurance is extremely important to farmers who are faced with that problem.

Why do we need research? My son-in-law is a farmer. Joe is living the American dream of coming back home and farming with his father. But Joe is only able to do that because through research we are now planting seeds in the ground every day that are more resistant from a disease standpoint than what his father planted, and we are also providing seeds that yield higher yields and better quality yields than what his father was able to produce. That is why we have to have research.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much for this very positive bill, and I urge its passage.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes and 30 seconds to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE).

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, the bill that is before us this evening is truly one that is supported on a bipartisan basis, as is evident in the discussion. But I think that it needs to be said that we have gone through a fair amount of turmoil in this body as we have discussed agricultural policy, and there is not unanimity as to the wisdom or the effectiveness of the farm bill under which we are operating.

Agriculture in many areas of this country is in severe economic distress. The bankers in my area tell me that we have more farmers that are facing foreclosure or forced exit from farming than we have had since the mid-1980s, and the condition of the farm economy rivals what we saw in the farm depression of the mid-1980s. The farm bill, by transferring billions of dollars in automatic transition payments, is not truly addressing the needs that many of these farmers face.

What I feel is good news is that the bill that we are taking up this evening indeed does. I believe that agricultural research is something that has paid rich dividends to the American consumer and to the American farmer, and investing in this area is one of the key investments that we should make in this Nation. Agricultural research is every bit as important as scientific research, medical research and other research.

The crop insurance program similarly pays rich dividends because what we are doing is, we are giving farmers a better tool with which to manage their risks. This is not from my perspective a safety net or a welfare program for farmers. This is a tool to

manage risk. What we are doing is making sure that we are handling at the Federal level the overhead or the administrative cost of the insurance program and the farmers are paying for the underwriting cost or the risk element of the program.

They choose what level of coverage they wish. I believe one of the more exciting opportunities is to move ahead with what is called crop revenue insurance, and this would enable farmers to not just look at the problems of crop failure but also of marketplace failure; that is, where prices are too low. I hope that the U.S. Department of Agriculture uses the authority that it has and the funds that are now available through this bill to expand the revenue assurance program throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this indeed is an historic occasion this evening, that we are operating on such a bipartisan basis in a body that often is fractured by partisan rhetoric. I look forward to quick passage of this measure.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD).

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the assault two weeks in a row by the chairman of the Committee on Rules, I am glad that we are finally at the point where we can pass in a very bipartisan way this bill. I think some of us who have worked for the last year and a half in many ways dislike the tactics that were used to assault a bill that was passed in a very bipartisan way. I am glad that we are at the point now that I am sure it will pass overwhelmingly.

I give a good amount of credit to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. COMBEST) and the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY) for the many hearings that they held, for wanting to reach out to every Member that had any interest in agriculture to say, give us good information and we will put a bill together. And they did that. And to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM), our thanks to them, too.

For me personally, I have one of the four ag research labs in my home town of Peoria. This bill means an awful lot. For agriculture it is just not growing corn and soybeans. Research is the future of agriculture well into the 21st century. That is why this bill is important, because what happens in these ag research labs and what happens at the University of Illinois in Champaign, Illinois as a result of this bill means that corn farmers and soybean farmers and people that grow commodities and crops all over this country will have the advantage of the best research anywhere in the world. I am delighted to have played a very small part in that.

In addition, this bill contains an opportunity for those of us who live in

States where these megahog farm operations are beginning to crop up all over to really do some swine odor research over the next four or five years, to really try and go after the problem that has been created by megahog operations not just in Illinois but in other parts of the country. I know that Members grin and smile when we talk about swine odor research but if they have one of these megahog operations crop up in one of their communities, they know it is a very serious problem. This bill also helps address that.

So for the future of agriculture, for the future of research in agriculture, I ask everyone in the House to support the bill.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

I too want to join and commend the leadership on both sides of the House for bringing this bill to this point and hope that the delicate, carefully crafted, bipartisan compromise conference report is indeed overwhelmingly supported. Members should know that it provides vital funding for agriculture research, education and extension programs, as well as the restoration of food stamps benefits and much-needed crop insurance.

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This legislation is also critical as it addresses badly needed funding for crop insurance for particular farmers and for those who have suffered disasters in years past.

These moneys will be used for Federal crop insurance research. The moneys will be used for production liability and limiting of a farmer's risk due to natural disasters beyond their control.

I am pleased that the conference report continues to recognize the need for research along with the need for water and sewage on this rural development program.

This agreement continues the education, research and extension programs that are so vital at our county level. They also provide essential funding for the entire agriculture community, providing new research initiatives and priorities, including *Pfisteria*, a microorganism that has plagued much of our waters in North Carolina, creation of consistent funding standards that all the universities will know how to have access to the funding, and better funding and better accountability for these funds.

It also furnishes integral funding for land grant universities, including historically black colleges and universities, oftentimes who need these research funds to further their education research activities. It also provides much needed funds for Hispanic-serving institutions as well.

Finally, I want to express my heartfelt appreciation and profound support for the restoration of food stamp benefits for legal immigrants. The food stamp restoration program has caused a lot of discussion, but this conference report, I think, targets this to the most vulnerable of our legal immigrants, the elderly, the disabled, children, refugees, those who often come to this country with very little, those who have come to our country who were veterans, who fought alongside other veterans in the U.S. military forces in Vietnam. They were eligible for food stamps prior to the Welfare Reform Act of 1996. When we changed the rule, we really denied these persons who needed these benefits. I am pleased that we are doing the right thing by restoring that.

I represent a rural district where the need for Federal crop insurance is very great and very much appreciated. And 1996 demonstrated not only our need but also our utilization of this. I am pleased that we are restoring that today.

The importance, the urgency and the fairness of this conference report both by the producers and the consumers of agriculture products is paramount.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to support this much needed and very well crafted report.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. LUCAS).

Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the conference committee report. It has not been all that long ago that we passed the 1996 farm bill, the most dramatic 7-year farm bill in the history of agriculture. At the time that we passed the bill, a majority of the Members of this body supported it, the leadership of this body supported it, the other body supported it by voting for it, and by his signature the President showed his support.

What was one of the main points that we made in the 1996 farm bill? We said, "Farmers, go forth and farm for the market and we will help provide you with the tools that you need."

Today, Mr. Speaker, we have a wonderful opportunity to help provide those tools. This bill provides additional resources for agricultural research to the tune of \$600 million, a commitment that the Federal Government has been involved in for 130 years that has benefited not only farmers and ranchers but the American consumer, as well as crop insurance, almost \$400 million to make that program work, to make those resources maximize themselves.

The amazing thing is, this is funds that the committee in effect made decisions that were saved, the money was saved in other areas and then spent in these areas. The best of all worlds. We live up to our commitments, we use the

resources that we have more efficiently allocated, and we have done what we said we would do. I thank the chairman for the opportunity to support this conference committee report.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE).

Mr. THUNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding me this time and for all the good work of the leadership on this committee and the leadership of the House in bringing this bill to the floor.

A couple of years ago we did away with production controls and supply management and price supports and deficiency payments and all those things that have marked our farm policy for a lot of years. In doing so, we said to the American agricultural producer that we want you to make your living at the marketplace. But we did not give them very many tools with which to manage their risk. Crop insurance is really the only thing that they have out there to do that. We have the opportunity here today to cure this annual crisis that we have over the funding mechanism for crop insurance. This is very important for that reason.

The second thing that is important is because this legislation provides a mechanism whereby researchers can compete for ag research funding. The reason American agriculture is even remotely profitable today to the extent it is, and many would argue when you have prices below the cost of production that it is even the least bit profitable, but the reason it is is because of the technological breakthroughs that we have seen in the past few years. We have become much more efficient. We have got a lot better yields on a lot less farmable land. If American agriculture is going to be profitable and continue to be profitable in the future, we are going to have to make the investment in research and development.

Agriculture is a tough business under even the best of conditions. We have an opportunity today to say something that is very positive to producers of this country, and, that is, that we want to work with you in making this crop insurance program workable so that you have a tool whereby you can manage your risk, and, secondly, we are going to invest in research, so as we head into the next century that agriculture continue to lead the way and our producers can be the most efficient in the world and our consumers can continue to benefit from the lowest prices for food. This is a very important step in that direction.

Again, I thank the leadership and the chairman for his hard work, diligence and persistence in bringing this bill to the floor and would urge my colleagues to support the conference report.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Montana (Mr. HILL).

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the agriculture research conference report. As my colleagues know, the United States has led the world in agricultural production. We have the best producers in the world. We can compete on a level playing field with anyone, any producer, anywhere in the world.

Right now things are not very good on the northern plains. We have dry conditions, we have trade imbalances, market failures, and it has created a lot of problems for producers on the northern plains. This bill does not address all those problems, but it does deal with one, and that is the insurance program for our drought conditions. But we cannot continue to compete unless we have research and an investment in research, because it is research that increases the productivity of our farms and ranches, it is how we lower costs, and it is how we increase yields. Frankly it is how we feed America and it is how we feed the world and it is why Americans enjoy the highest living standard in the world.

When the last Congress asked U.S. farmers to compete in the world markets, we said that we would help them manage risk with a better insurance program and assure our commitment to an effective crop insurance program. This bill delivers on that promise. We also said that we would invest in research so that we could assure our long-term competitiveness. This conference report delivers on that promise as well.

Mr. Speaker, my State leads in agricultural research. At Montana State University, we have research with regard to different grains. At our Agricultural Research Station at Sidney, we are dealing with pest management. At Fort Keogh, we are dealing with increased production for people in the livestock industry. It is research that has increased our production, it is research that will improve our environment, and it is research that will deliver on our standard of living for all Americans. I urge all my colleagues to support the conference report.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds for purposes of saying thank you to the staffs on both the majority side and the minority side for the hours and days and weeks and months of hard work that they have put in to bringing us to this point tonight. We appreciate it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY), the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Forestry, Resource Conservation, and Research and I thank him for his work.

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, I also want to commend the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr.

COMBEST), along with the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM), for really continuing the tradition of the Committee on Agriculture to work in a bipartisan fashion to devise ag policy which is going to work in the best interests of our farmers.

I think also that the environment that they have created in the Committee on Agriculture, that bipartisan environment, certainly has contributed to our staffs working in a very effective and bipartisan fashion, too.

I rise today in strong support of the conference report to accompany S. 1150, the Ag Research, Extension and Education Reform Act. It has been a long road, but I believe that passage of this bill is imperative, and I am pleased that the House will vote on it today.

As with any legislation that we consider in Congress, S. 1150 is a product of hard work and compromise. While there will be some here today who will criticize certain provisions of this bill, I strongly believe that we have crafted a good bill that deserves the support of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Federal investment in ag research is the most vital component of the agricultural safety net for the future. Our country has a long and successful history of agricultural research innovations, and our system is the envy of the world. I believe that the research provisions of S. 1150 will lead to an even better agricultural research system in our country and provide farmers with the tools that they will need to be competitive in this international marketplace into the next century.

Specifically, the conference report requires a competitive process for high-priority research projects and requires a match for those projects. The conference report does not contain any earmarked projects for specific States or specific universities, and I also think that the peer review and merit review provisions will improve the quality of research conducted at USDA.

The most exciting provision of the bill is the establishment of the Initiative for Future Agriculture and Food Systems. This new program, which is funded at \$120 million per year, will provide a new and stable source of competitively awarded research money to be targeted at high-priority issues. I want to applaud Senator LUGAR for his persistence in establishing this program and know that it will begin delivering benefits to farmers in the next few years.

While the research provisions of the bill were a top priority, the crop insurance components are also very important, because they provide the needed ability for farmers to manage the risk that is going to be inherent in the marketplace certainly as we move away from many direct subsidies to farmers.

But one other important component was the restoration of food stamp benefits for certain groups of legal immigrants and refugees and asylees. Many people in this body have criticized this provision, but I take exception to that. As part of the Balanced Budget Act we passed last year, we tried to provide some I think responsible reforms to the welfare act that many of us voted for in a bipartisan fashion.

We are not turning our back on welfare reform. What we are trying to do is provide some important assistance to some people who we invited into our country that have been important contributors to our society. I am particularly pleased about this because in my district I am home to a large number of Hmong refugees who will be benefiting from these provisions.

Oftentimes, we forget the sacrifices that these Hmong and Lao refugees have provided our country in participating in the secret war, participating alongside of our soldiers in the Vietnam War, saving many of their lives. I do not think we have to make any apologies for providing a restoration of food stamp benefits to some of these individuals who we invited into our country and provided service to our country.

Mr. Speaker, I think we have a great conference report here that meets the needs of U.S. farmers and is a responsible bill. I urge the entire body of the House to vote in support of it.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. In closing, let me thank again the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) and his great statement about our staff, on both sides. They have worked arduously and well together. Members would be surprised how closely we work. I think they would be proud, as I am, this evening, proud of the conduct of this debate, and the people who are in it, because we who represent agriculture represent farmers. We do not represent anybody else, not huge companies, not foreign interests. We represent farmers. I think that is the reason that we can find ways to accommodate one another's issues and accommodate one another's ideas.

I am especially proud to bring this conference committee report to my colleagues. I might say to them that it is not only because of our work together. There were 71 agricultural organizations in America, I cannot find any organization that was not represented, that not only had great patience with us with this bill when we asked them to have patience but then when we asked them to step forward and to support this bill with Members, they did so enthusiastically. It is out of great respect for the organization of agriculture in America which stood together on this issue is the reason that we are here.

□ 2100

So, Mr. Speaker, I again thank all my colleagues for the debate, and I ask them all to support this very good conference committee report.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member rises in reluctant support of the conference report for S. 1150, the Agricultural Research Bill.

This Member is voting for the conference report because of the urgent need for crop insurance and the importance of agricultural research. However, this Member is strongly opposed to the provision in the bill that reinstates food stamp benefits for legal immigrants.

Two years ago, we finally passed major legislation that ended welfare as we knew it. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 contained a provision that barred most legal immigrants from the Food Stamp program, and we need to remember that immigrants are sponsored by American citizens who have agreed to take financial responsibility for their needs during the naturalization process. Too many sponsors have failed in their responsibility. This Member is strongly opposed to the reinstatement of food stamps for legal immigrants that was added to the bill during conference.

However, the need to approve crop insurance funding has reached a critical point. Funding is necessary so that our nation's farmers have in place a safety net to protect them against the natural disasters which are a constant threat. Allowing crops insurance coverage to lapse would make too many producers vulnerable to the uncertainties cause by weather. The farm bill enacted in 1996 creates more freedom and opportunities for farmers, but it is important for crop insurance to remain in place as a viable option.

It is also critically important to reauthorize the agricultural research program. Funding for research offers a long-term and far-sighted approach to supporting producers and improving our nation's food supply. Clearly, the success of agriculture in the future depends on the research we support now.

This Member is voting for the conference report because of the importance of crop insurance and agricultural research.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, today, I rise to support passage of S. 1150, the conference report on the Agricultural Research, Extension, and Education Reauthorization Act, which reauthorizes these programs for five years. Funding provided through this authorization is used by state research centers to protect and improve the use of crops.

Three weeks ago, I spoke against the rule that would have allowed a vote on this legislation. The rule, if passed, could have stopped funding for food and nutrition assistance.

Today we have a chance to vote on a clean bill. This bill contains funding for some of the most important research done in this country. In my congressional district, scientists at the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station have used U.S. Department of Agriculture grants to fund research on ticks that cause Lyme Disease and on yew trees that produce Taxol to fight breast and ovarian cancer.

I support today's bill because it ensures that 250,000 individuals and families will receive needed hunger assistance. I also support this bill because it provides for research that saves lives.

I urge my colleagues to join me in support of this important legislation.

Mr. SANDLIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Chairman SMITH, Ranking Member STENHOLM, and the members of the Committee. I commend you for the excellent legislation we have before us today.

The Agriculture Research, Extension and Education Reform Act will give stability to crop insurance programs, boost spending on agricultural research for the first time in 10 years, and provide an additional \$100 million for economic development in rural areas. By doing so, the bill will bring jobs to East Texas and improve long-term productivity and profitability for East Texas farmers and ranchers.

As government subsidies for agriculture come to an end, crop insurance has become one of the last barriers against financial ruin for farm families. The 1996 farm bill guaranteed crop insurance to our agricultural producers, but without this bill, farmers across the nation face the prospect of crop insurance cancellations as early as this month. In East Texas, there are agricultural producers facing drought conditions in some counties and floods in others, and we cannot deny them the crop insurance they have been promised. I share the relief of every crop producer in East Texas tonight as we pass this bill and ensure the continuation of crop insurance.

Equally important is the research component of this bill, providing \$600 million over five years in mandatory spending on agricultural research, including funds for the Texas A&M University System across Texas. We have a long history of agricultural research in this country, and it has led to the most productive and most efficient agricultural industry in the world. Continuation of this commitment is vital for America's farmers and ranchers as agricultural subsidies disappear and global markets become more competitive.

Mr. Speaker, this bill has been carefully crafted to pay for itself and protect the future of our agricultural producers and every American who relies on their products. I encourage all my colleagues to cast a strong vote for rural America and pass this bill.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, thank you for the opportunity to speak on this crucial issue. I strongly oppose the rule striking reauthorizing food stamps for legal immigrants in the United States.

The rule that has been recommended would set up a ridiculous procedure which gives Republican opponents two extraordinary procedural mechanisms to kill the bill. Under this absurd procedure, the House will not even be allowed to debate the bipartisan conference report, even though the conference report has already been filed and has already been approved by an overwhelming bipartisan majority in the Senate. I vote to reauthorize food stamps for those who need them.

We must restore food stamps to our 900,000 legal immigrants including farmworkers. Food stamp recipients are refugees, the elderly, disabled Vietnam veterans and children who are facing food and nutritional deficiencies in larger and larger numbers.

This year, approximately 600,000 U.S. citizen children with immigrant parents will have less food on their tables because of these cuts. Since food stamp access has been cut,

a widening hunger crisis has emerged that private charities and State and local governments have not been able to handle.

There simply have not been enough resources to feed all the hungry. Catholic Charities USA, Second Harvest and the U.S. Conference of Mayors have all reported major increases in request for emergency food assistance while food pantries are going empty and are turning people away.

In my home State of Texas, 124,000 legal immigrants lost food stamps. 13,090 of these who lost food stamps are children!!! The State itself is only able to cover approximately 15,000 people under a State program for elderly and disabled during this biennium.

The elimination of food stamp benefits for adults without children is calculated to create a mass of people who are desperate to take any job, no matter how poor the wages and conditions.

It will serve to intimidate all lower paid workers, a valuable and crucial section of the American workforce.

President Clinton singled out these welfare provisions as particularly unfair, and has since asked for \$2 billion to restore benefits to about 730,000 immigrants.

Striking this rule would deny almost a million people, old and young, and those contributing as a valuable force to our Nation's economy. I vote not to strike the rule and to reauthorize food stamps.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of our time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). All time has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the conference report.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 364, nays 50, not voting 19, as follows:

[Roll No. 204]

YEAS—364

Abercrombie	Bentsen	Boswell
Ackerman	Bereuter	Boucher
Aderholt	Berman	Boyd
Allen	Berry	Brady (PA)
Andrews	Bilbray	Brown (CA)
Armey	Billrakis	Brown (FL)
Bachus	Bishop	Brown (OH)
Baesler	Blagojevich	Bryant
Baker	Blumenauer	Bunning
Baldacci	Boehert	Burton
Ballenger	Boehner	Buyer
Barcia	Bonilla	Callahan
Barrett (NE)	Bonior	Calvert
Barrett (WI)	Bono	Camp
Becerra	Borski	Campbell

Canady  
Capps  
Cardin  
Carson  
Castle  
Chambliss  
Chenoweth  
Christensen  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Coble  
Combest  
Condit  
Conyers  
Cook  
Cooksey  
Costello  
Cox  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Crapo  
Cubin  
Cummings  
Cunningham  
Danner  
Davis (FL)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis (VA)  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
DeLahunt  
DeLauro  
Deutsch  
Diaz-Balart  
Dickey  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Doyle  
Dreier  
Duncan  
Dunn  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Ehrlich  
Emerson  
English  
Eshoo  
Etheridge  
Evans  
Everett  
Ewing  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fawell  
Fazio  
Fillner  
Foley  
Forbes  
Ford  
Fossella  
Fowler  
Fox  
Franks (NJ)  
Frelinghuysen  
Frost  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gejdenson  
Gekas  
Gephardt  
Gibbons  
Gilchrist  
Gillmor  
Gilman  
Goodling  
Gordon  
Graham  
Granger  
Green  
Gutierrez  
Gutknecht  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hamilton  
Hansen  
Hastert  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayworth  
Hefner  
Hill

Hilleary  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hinojosa  
Hobson  
Hoekstra  
Holden  
Hooley  
Horn  
Houghton  
Hoyer  
Hulshof  
Hutchinson  
Hyde  
Inglis  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson-Lee  
(TX)  
Jefferson  
Jenkins  
John  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (WI)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Jones  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kasich  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
Kilpatrick  
Kim  
Kind (WI)  
King (NY)  
Klecza  
Klink  
Klug  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
Kucinich  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lampson  
Lantos  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Lazio  
Leach  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Linder  
Lipinski  
Livingston  
LoBlondo  
Lofgren  
Lowe  
Lucas  
Luther  
Maloney (CT)  
Maloney (NY)  
Manton  
Markey  
Mascara  
Matsui  
McCarthy (MO)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum  
McCreery  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McHale  
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McInnis  
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McKeon  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek (FL)  
Meeks (NY)  
Menendez  
Metcalfe  
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McDonald  
Miller (CA)  
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Moakley  
Moran (KS)

Morella  
Murtha  
Nadler  
Neal  
Nethercutt  
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Northup  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Oliver  
Ortiz  
Owens  
Oxley  
Packard  
Pallone  
Parker  
Pascarella  
Pastor  
Paxon  
Payne  
Pease  
Pelosi  
Peterson (MN)  
Peterson (PA)  
Petri  
Pickering  
Pickett  
Pitts  
Pombo  
Pomeroy  
Porter  
Portman  
Poshard  
Price (NC)  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Rahall  
Ramstad  
Rangel  
Redmond  
Regula  
Riggs  
Riley  
Rivers  
Rodriguez  
Roemer  
Rogan  
Rogers  
Rothman  
Roybal-Allard  
Rush  
Ryun  
Sabo  
Sanchez  
Sanders  
Sandlin  
Sawyer  
Schaffer, Bob  
Schumer  
Scott  
Serrano  
Sessions  
Shaw  
Shays  
Sherman  
Shimkus  
Shuster  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Skeen  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (OR)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith, Adam  
Smith, Linda  
Snowbarger  
Snyder  
Souder  
Spence  
Spratt  
Stabenow  
Stark  
Stenholm  
Stokes  
Strickland  
Stupak  
Tanner  
Tauscher  
Tauzin  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas

Thompson  
Thornberry  
Thune  
Thurman  
Tierney  
Torres  
Townes  
Trafcant  
Turner  
Upton  
Velázquez

Archer  
Barr  
Barton  
Bass  
Billey  
Blunt  
Brady (TX)  
Cannon  
Chabot  
Coburn  
Collins  
Crane  
Deal  
DeLay  
Doolittle  
Ensign  
Goode

Bartlett  
Bateman  
Burr  
Engel  
Frank (MA)  
Furse  
Gonzalez

□ 2119

Messrs. GOODLATTE, HERGER and SALMON changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. GALLEGLY changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, earlier this evening, I was unavoidably detained and as a result missed rollcall votes #202, #203, and #204.

Had I been present for these votes, I would have voted "Yea" on rollcall vote #202, "Nay" on rollcall vote #203, and "Nay" on rollcall vote #204.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall no. 204, I was unavoidably detained in traffic. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

MAKING IN ORDER AT ANY TIME CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3989, USER FEE AND TAX INCREASE ACT OF 1998

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, after consultation with the minority, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order at any time to consider the bill (H.R. 3989) to provide for the enactment of user fees proposed by the President in his budget submission under section 1105(a) of title 31, United States Code,

for fiscal year 1999; that the bill be considered as read for amendment; that the amendment I have placed at the desk be considered as adopted; and that the previous question be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate on the bill, as amended, equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) and the minority leader or his designee; and (2) one motion to recommmit, with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows: At the end of the bill add the following title:

TITLE IV—TAX INCREASES

SEC. 401. TAX INCREASES.

It is the sense of the House of Representatives that the following tax increases proposed by the President should be enacted as soon as possible:

- (1) ACCOUNTING PROVISIONS.—
  - (A) Repeal lower of cost or market inventory accounting method.
  - (B) Repeal nonaccrual experience method of accounting and make certain trade receivables ineligible for mark-to-market treatment.
- (2) FINANCIAL PRODUCTS AND INSTITUTIONS.—
  - (A) Defer interest deduction on certain convertible debt.
  - (B) Extend pro rata disallowance of tax-exempt interest expense that applies to banks to all financial intermediaries.
- (3) CORPORATE TAX PROVISIONS.—
  - (A) Eliminate dividends received deduction for certain preferred stock.
  - (B) Repeal tax-free conversion of large C corporations into S corporations.
  - (C) Restrict special net operating loss carryback rules for specified liability losses.
  - (D) Clarify the meaning of "subject to" liabilities under section 357(c).
- (4) INSURANCE PROVISIONS.—
  - (A) Increase the proration percentage for property and casualty insurance companies.
  - (B) Capitalize net premiums for credit life insurance contracts.
  - (C) Modify corporate-owned life insurance rules.
  - (D) Modify reserve rules for annuity contracts.
  - (E) Tax certain exchanges of insurance contracts and reallocations of assets within variable insurance contracts.
  - (F) Modify computation of "investment in the contract" for mortality and expense charges on certain insurance contracts.
- (5) ESTATE AND GIFT TAX PROVISIONS.—
  - (A) Eliminate nonbusiness valuation discounts.
  - (B) Modify treatment of gifts of "present interests" in a trust (repeal "Crummey" case rule).
  - (C) Eliminate gift tax exemption for personal residence trusts.
  - (D) Include qualified terminable interest property trust assets in surviving spouse's estate.
- (6) FOREIGN TAX PROVISIONS.—
  - (A) Replace sales source rules with activity-based rule.
  - (B) Modify rules relating to foreign oil and gas extraction income.
  - (C) Apply "80/20" company rules on a group-wide basis.
  - (D) Prescribe regulations regarding foreign built-in losses.

Vento  
Visclosky  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Waters  
Watkins  
Watt (NC)  
Watts (OK)  
Waxman  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller

Goodlatte  
Goss  
Greenwood  
Hefley  
Herger  
Hostettler  
Hunter  
Istook  
Johnson, Sam  
Kingston  
Largent  
Manzullo  
Miller (FL)  
Neumann  
Pappas  
Paul  
Rohrabacher

Harman  
Lewis (GA)  
Martinez  
McDade  
Mollohan  
Moran (VA)  
Myrick

□ 2119

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Wexler  
Weygand  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wise  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Wynn  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

Roukema  
Royce  
Salmon  
Sanford  
Saxton  
Scarborough  
Schaefer, Dan  
Sensenbrenner  
Shadegg  
Solomon  
Stearns  
Stump  
Sununu  
Taylor (MS)  
Tiahrt  
Weldon (FL)

□ 2119

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(E) Prescribe regulations regarding use of hybrids.

(F) Modify foreign office material participation exception applicable to certain inventory sales.

(G) Modify controlled foreign corporation exception from United States tax on transportation income.

(7) ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS.—

(A) Increase penalties for failure to file correct information returns.

(B) Modify definition of substantial understatement penalty for large corporations.

(C) Repeal exemption for withholding on gambling.

(D) Modify deposit requirement for FUTA.

(E) Clarify and expand math error procedures.

(8) REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT COMPANY PROVISIONS.—

(A) Freeze grandfathered status of stapled or paired-share REITs.

(B) Restrict impermissible businesses indirectly conducted by REITs.

(C) Modify treatment of closely held REITs.

(9) EARNED INCOME TAX COMPLIANCE PROVISIONS.—

(A) Simplify foster child definition under the earned income credit.

(B) Modify definition of qualifying child for purposes of the earned income credit where more than one taxpayer satisfies the requirements with respect to the same child.

(10) OTHER REVENUE-INCREASE PROVISIONS.—

(A) Repeal percentage depletion for certain nonfuel minerals mined on Federal and formerly Federal lands.

(B) Modify depreciation method for tax-exempt use property.

(C) Impose excise tax on purchase of structured settlements.

(D) Reinstate Oil Spill Liability Trust Fund excise tax and increase Trust Fund ceiling to \$5,000,000,000 (through September 30, 2008).

(11) REINSTATE HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCE SUPERFUND EXCISE TAX AND ENVIRONMENTAL INCOME TAX.—

(A) Reinstate Superfund corporate environmental income tax.

(B) Reinstate Superfund excise taxes (through September 30, 2008).

Mr. SOLOMON (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the original request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make an announcement regarding the remainder of the session this evening.

Mr. Speaker, we are about to take up the rule that will make in order the budget for 1999 and two substitutes that go with it. That will be debated fully this evening. There may or may not be a vote on that rule. Then we would go into 3 hours of general debate, and there would be no further votes in the House this evening when that takes place.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I assure the gentleman there will be a vote on the rule tonight.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I am glad we got that cleared up. So it is 9:25, and we can expect a vote around 10:25, and then bid you all good night. The rest of us will stay here and debate the very important bill.

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. CON. RES. 284, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 455 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

#### H. RES. 455

*Resolved*, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 284) revising the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1998, establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1999, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2003. The first reading of the concurrent resolution shall be dispensed with. General debate shall not exceed three hours, with two hours of general debate confined to the congressional budget equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget, and one hour of general debate on the subject of economic goals and policies equally divided and controlled by Representative Saxton of New Jersey and Representative Stark of California or their designees. After general debate the concurrent resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider as an original concurrent resolution for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part 1 of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution. That amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be considered as read. All points of order against that amendment in the nature of a substitute are waived. No amendment to that amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be in order except those printed in part 2 of the report of the Committee on Rules. Each amendment may be offered only in the order printed in the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to amendment. All points of order against the amendments printed in the report are waived except that the adoption of an amendment in the nature of a substitute shall constitute the conclusion of consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment. The

chairman of the Committee of the Whole may: (1) postpone until a time during further consideration in the Committee of the Whole a request for a recorded vote on any amendment; and (2) reduce to five minutes the minimum time for electronic voting on any postponed question that follows another electronic vote without intervening business, provided that the minimum time for electronic voting on the first in any series of questions shall be 15 minutes. At the conclusion of consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the concurrent resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. Any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole to the concurrent resolution or to the amendment in the nature of a substitute made in order as original text. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the concurrent resolution and amendments thereto to final adoption without intervening motion except amendments offered by the chairman of the Committee on the Budget pursuant to section 305(a)(5) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to achieve mathematical consistency. The concurrent resolution shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question of its adoption.

SEC. 2. Rule XLIX shall not apply with respect to the adoption by the Congress of a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1999.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded, of course, is for debate purposes only.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going to bother to repeat and explain the rule itself, because the House Clerk has done a very good job with it.

I would say, Mr. Speaker, last February the President of the United States submitted a budget to Congress that was a relic of the tax-and-spend policies of Democrats of the past. Just 6 months after this Republican Congress and President Clinton enacted into law the first balanced budget in a generation and the first tax cut in 16 years, President Clinton sent us a backward-looking budget. It was just the opposite of what we had been doing.

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That budget, ladies and gentlemen, called for 85 new spending programs, 85 new entitlement programs. It created 39 new entitlement programs. It increased spending by \$150 billion, again, going just the opposite direction of what we have been moving to, and it increased taxes and user fees by \$129 billion, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Speaker, in this Republican-controlled House, that approach to budgeting and governing is a nonstarter. We can thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) sitting over here, the

chairman of the Committee on the Budget, for what I would call unbelievable due diligence of bringing this budget which is not draconian. As a matter of fact, I think if he and I had our total way and we were to dictate the terms of this budget, we would see some further major, major cuts in this bill.

But today the House has the opportunity to move this Nation in a new direction and, I would argue, in the right direction with the passage of the Kasich budget. The Kasich budget establishes an honest blueprint for this Congress to achieve four important goals.

Those four important goals are, Mr. Speaker: paying down our \$5.5 trillion debt. That is important. If we polled into our district, the gentleman from Montana (Mr. HILL) just was here telling me what he had done, that is what the American people want. They want us to pay down on that \$5.5 trillion debt that is a disgrace to this Nation.

Number two, preserving and protecting Social Security.

Number three, shrinking the growth of government by reducing spending by 1 percent over 5 years. That is not much, but let me tell my colleagues, it is a step in the right direction.

Finally, relieving the tax burden on families through elimination of the marriage penalty, and that may be the most important thing that we do here this year.

Mr. Speaker, this rule allows the House to choose between two distinct investigations of government. One is envisioned by the President and his tax-and-spend plan, which is largely characterized by the substitute offered by our colleague from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT). It follows the same vision of the President in the budget that he had presented to us.

If we favor increasing spending, and if we favor increasing government and oppose cutting taxes, then we ought to stand up here tonight and vote for the Spratt substitute. If we oppose allowing this Congress even the opportunity to provide a net tax cut for American families, then we should support the Spratt budget. But I do not think we ought to do that.

Mr. Speaker, there is another vision of the government before this House tonight, and that vision is captured in both the Kasich budget resolution and in the Neumann substitute, both of which are good budgets in my opinion.

Both of these budgets seek to make the Federal Government's budget smaller and the family budget larger. Both seek to fulfill our outstanding commitments in Social Security, in Medicare, and to our veterans and even to our children and our grandchildren by paying down the national debt and ensuring, and this may be the most important part of all, ensuring our national defense is the best state-of-the-art that we can give to men and women that serve in our uniforms today.

Both seek to take advantage of our Nation's positive fiscal climate by continuing the country's shift towards a smaller government, greater individual responsibility, and expanding entrepreneurship and economic initiative.

That is really what we ought to be here doing, because that creates jobs and it helps small business across this Nation, particularly small business that creates 75 percent of all the new jobs in America every single year, not only for those that are being displaced by downsizing but young men and women, girls and boys, coming out of high school and college.

Mr. Speaker, in closing I would just observe that the rule before us allows the House to openly debate two different visions of government, one Republican, and one Democrat, and boy, are they different, for a total of 5 hours of debate.

So I would urge my colleagues to support this rule. After the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) has opened his statements, we want to get into a colloquy with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHUSTER) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), the Committee on Budget chairman.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON), my colleague and my good friend, for yielding me the customary half hour; and I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this rule and would like to voice my strong opposition to this Republican budget resolution. The Republican budget picks on those who are the most vulnerable in our society. The Republican budget will hurt low-wage working families. It will hurt the victims of crime. It will hurt the students. Mr. Speaker, once again it will hurt the veterans.

This Republican budget cuts Medicaid and children's health programs by \$12 billion over 5 years, in addition to the \$10.2 billion cut imposed by last year's budget. Republicans remove a guarantee of health care to families in need by block-granting the acute care portion of Medicaid.

Mr. Speaker, the cuts on those in need do not stop there. Republicans cut temporary assistance to needy families by \$10.1 billion. This is a change in their reported budget. They must be very ashamed of it because they submitted it only last night, in the dark of night, after the House was in recess.

The Republicans also cut educational opportunities for those in need. The Republicans cut Head Start and grants to school districts with high levels of poverty. The Republicans, listen, Mr. Speaker, the Republicans cut veterans' benefits by \$10 billion.

The Republicans also cut law enforcement. They refused to fully fund

the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. They eliminate the Legal Services Corporation.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York said he is proud of this Republican budget. I hope he is, but I am not. I would be willing to bet most Americans care far more about education and law enforcement and preserving a safety net for working families than they do about \$101 billion in tax cuts for corporate fat cats and the very rich.

I think my Republican colleagues agree with me, because as draconian as these cuts may sound, nearly every single one of them is set to go in effect in the future, like a budget cut time bomb. This could mean that the cuts will, God willing, never materialize; or it could mean that my Republican colleagues want to be as far away as possible when this blast finally goes off.

Mr. Speaker, the most surprising cuts are those in the areas that the House has spoken out loud and clear. The Republican budget cuts \$21.9 billion from the highway bill we just voted on 2 weeks ago. It cuts \$21.9 billion from that bill, the highway bill we just sent to the President. The Kasich budget would slice off \$21.9 billion.

The Republican budget will also impede the passage of any tobacco legislation. It will hurt our chances of fixing Social Security. It does not stay within the requirements of last year's balanced budget agreement either.

In contrast, Mr. Speaker, the Democratic alternative budget proposed by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) will reserve the Social Security surplus until Congress and the President can agree on how to save it. The Democratic alternative will enable Congress to pass the Patient's Bill of Rights and also the tobacco settlement. The Democratic alternative stays within the parameters of the balanced budget agreement.

The bipartisan budget proposal offered by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) is also a far better choice than the Republican budget. It is nearly identical to Senator DOMENIC's budget proposal, which means it is very possible it could pass in both Houses, which is exactly why my Republican colleagues refuse to make it in order. Last night at the Committee on Rules it was said that the Minge budget should not be made in order because it is so close to the Senate position; it might pass. That would make that conference just too easy.

Mr. Speaker, the budget of the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE) does not hurt Medicaid recipients or needy families or students or crime victims or veterans, and it might win more votes than the Republican budget. It is not surprising that the Republicans will not allow it to come to the floor for a vote.

This rule is a very unusual one, Mr. Speaker, in one respect. Until last year it was traditional for a rule on the budget resolution to guarantee that major alternatives would be considered. Special procedures called king of the hill, queen of the hill ensured that each of the substitutes would at least be debated and voted on. This rule just does not offer that traditional guarantee. If the first substitute is agreed to, the Democratic alternative cannot even be debated.

This rule will not allow Members to vote on the Minge-Stenholm budget. It does not guarantee that the Democratic alternative will be heard. It encourages Members to vote for a dangerous Republican budget.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, my hero, Ronald Reagan, used to say, "Well, you have heard it again. There they go again. There go those Democrats: Tax, tax, tax; spend, spend, spend." You just heard the greatest old New Deal speech that we ever heard on this floor.

What he is talking about is creating 85 new spending programs. Spend, spend, spend. Creating 39 new entitlement programs. Spend, spend, spend forever. Forever. Increasing spending by \$150 billion. Tax the taxpayers. Increase taxes and user fees by \$129 billion.

Mr. Speaker, we have a big difference between these two bills.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he might consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHUSTER) so that he can have a colloquy with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), the Committee on Budget chairman, and clear up some misunderstandings.

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I was dismayed to learn that the committee-reported budget resolution before the body today does not reflect the additional Highway Trust Fund outlays guaranteed and firewalled in the conference report on TEA-21.

The TEA-21 conference report, which is about to be signed by the President, enacts into law firewalls within the discretionary spending caps. These firewalls guarantee that we will spend future Highway Trust Fund tax receipts on highway and transit infrastructure and not continue the past practice of setting spending from the trust fund without regard to the tax revenues being collected.

In drafting TEA-21, we worked closely with the Committee on the Budget and the administration to cut the cost of the bill substantially and to fully offset the additional spending in TEA-21. Given that TEA-21 is fully offset, and the overwhelming vote of both bodies for the funding levels and the guar-

antees in TEA-21, I believe that the budget resolution should fully reflect the guaranteed spending levels in TEA-21.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask my good friend the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), chairman of the Committee on the Budget: Is it the position of the chairman of the Committee on the Budget that any budget resolution conference report or any other measure that will be used to govern appropriations in budget actions this year will fully reflect the firewall funding guarantees in TEA-21?

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield to me, the committee-reported resolution was adopted prior to the conference agreement on TEA-21. As reported, this budget resolution assumed that the additional Highway Trust Fund spending could be accommodated if fully offset. It is my intention that the budget resolution conference report fully comply with the highway trust fund funding guarantees contained in the conference report on TEA-21.

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Ohio. Based on those assurances, I urge my colleague to support both the rule and the budget.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), chairman of the Committee on the Budget, I am just a little confused by that explanation. Can the gentleman tell me how he can accommodate that \$29 billion that he took out of the Highway Trust Fund?

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield to me, let me say to the gentleman from Boston, Massachusetts, my good friend, I am really kind of amazed to listen to his comments, because I think ranking member of the Committee on Rules knows that what we are asking the Federal Government to do is, instead of spending \$9.1 trillion over the next 5 years—

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have limited time. Would the gentleman just answer my question?

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, I am answering the gentleman's question. Instead of the Federal Government spending \$9.1 trillion with all these things you talk about, guess what? You are going to get to spend \$9 trillion. Do you know something else? The families in your district that are being penalized by the marriage penalty will be helped. We will be able to accommodate this highway bill.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I reclaim my time.

Mr. KASICH. In fact, we will be able to pass the resolution.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I reclaim my time. The gentleman does not want to answer the question.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE).

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, we are now 45 days and 45 nights late in action on a budget in this Congress. Why? It is not clear to this Member why this Congress has procrastinated and failed to live up to its responsibility to provide the Nation and the appropriations committees and the other institutions with guidance as to our budget policies for this fiscal year and the four fiscal years to follow.

□ 2145

Shame. After 3 years of Blue Dog Coalition budgets coming to the floor of this body, the Committee on Rules has refused to allow such a budget to be considered this week.

Why is that? Is it because a moderate, bipartisan budget was proposed? Is it because it is an updated version of the Domenici version adopted by the United States Senate? Is it because there is fear that a bipartisan budget that is brought to this floor would pass and would defeat the more partisan budgets that are coming from both sides of the aisle?

It is not clear to me, and I think it is truly unfortunate that this body does not have the opportunity to consider a budget similar to the Senate budget, a budget that passed overwhelmingly, a budget that represents a mainstream course in this country, a budget that is designed to put Social Security first, not to spend the budget surplus until we have fixed the financial problems of Social Security; to reserve that surplus, to make sure that we are careful in husbanding our resources and not embarking on numerous new programs, not taking the resources that are so badly needed to eliminate the deficit and spending those resources on other purposes.

We are deeply disappointed that this budget was repudiated by the Committee on Rules, that we have not had an opportunity to bring it to the floor. Shame, shame, shame.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons why we have a different vision in our party is because of the majority leader of this House. I yield such time as he might consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. RICHARD ARMEY) to explain that vision.

Mr. ARMEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, a very good friend of mine, Thomas Soul, once wrote a book entitled "Conflict of Visions." It was a good book, and I would commend it to all of us.

But what we are doing here today with this rule is we are setting up an opportunity for this House of Representatives to consider alternative visions. Earlier this year the President of the United States submitted his recommendation, his budget recommendation, to Congress. In that recommendation he set forth what is his vision for America. The President's vision was

presented in a budget that called for 85 new spending programs, that created 39 new entitlement programs, that increased spending by \$150 billion, and increased taxes and user fees by \$130 billion.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Budget, and the members of the Committee on the Budget got together, and they all agreed that that was not the vision for America that they would recommend to this House.

In fact, they wrote a vision for America in which we see a contrasting view; that their vision says, let us reduce spending by \$100 billion, and let us reduce taxes by \$100 billion. Let us take one penny on the dollar out of an annual budget that is \$1.7 trillion. A 1 percent spending reduction will allow us to have sufficient tax reduction that we can correct some of the more disparaging things in our tax code.

Mr. Speaker, we all tell our children, our best advice, young man, our best advice, young lady, is for you to get married and settle down. Yet, in today's tax law, they are punished if they do that. The Kasich budget makes available to us through reduced spending an opportunity to eliminate that penalty for marriage, and to do other things that are beneficial to the lives of our children through tax reduction, and to give them also a smaller, more efficient, more effective, more responsible government.

The Committee on Rules has taken these visions under consideration and they have written a fair rule, a rule that says, let us have the contest, let us have the contest between these two contesting visions.

If I might close, Mr. Speaker, with this observation to my colleagues on the Republican side of the aisle, in particular, this is our vision. This is what we believe we want for our children, a budget that reflects the need in this Nation for a government that knows and respects the goodness of the American people, and has the decency to respect that goodness by restraining itself from its excesses, both in the manner in which it takes money out of the pockets of the American working man and woman, and the manner in which that money is spent.

The Kasich budget gives us an opportunity to set a new standard to spend the taxpayers' hard-earned dollar as minimally as necessary to get the greatest service possible per dollar for the people of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues, vote yes for this budget, vote yes for this rule. Reaffirm our vision for America.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. TANNER).

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today out of sadness. I do not make many partisan statements. I do not do one-minutes. By virtue of the Committee on Rules turning down an opportunity for this House to talk about the Blue Dog budget, it reminds me of a saying that many may have heard, that the Republicans are more efficient than Democrats. They are. By the adoption of this rule, they have achieved the same level of arrogance in 4 years that it took the Democrats that they accused of it 40 years to achieve.

To deny us a budget debate on this floor that might pass because it has too much bipartisan support says to me that partisan politics is more important than doing something good for this country. I rise out of sadness because we are not permitted to debate the Blue Dog budget.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BOYD).

Mr. BOYD. I thank the gentleman very much, Mr. Speaker, for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I wanted to spend my minute talking about the transportation issue, but I think at least after the weak attempt to explain why the transportation package that we passed here 2 weeks ago is not included in this budget, we all understand how bad this budget rule is.

I would just tell the Speaker and my good friend, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the majority leader, that with the majority and with the power of the gavel comes a certain amount of responsibility. That responsibility is to bring to this body a budget which makes a lot of sense.

There is not a budget here presented today that I can vote for, because I believe that we ought to stick with the balanced budget agreement which we passed last year. We ought not to go off on a wild goose chase with a bunch of new spending programs, and we ought not to go off on a wild goose chase with a bunch of tax cuts. We owe \$5.5 trillion of debt in this Nation that we need to pay down. We need to take whatever dollars we have and preserve Social Security and pay down that debt.

I would ask Members to vote against this rule.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the recommended rule on this budget resolution for several reasons. First, this rule would pit the \$10.1 billion cut in Medicare against funding for income security programs such as public housing, disability assistance, and WIC nutrition programs. This proposed rule demands the cruel and callous task of choosing whether to cut vital Medicare programs for our elderly citizens, or programs to provide basic services to our poor.

The policy of pitting people who need critical social service programs against each other is unethical, particularly since we are now experiencing a boom of wealth in our Nation. It is our responsibility to assure that we provide a safety net for those who need it, rather than decide who should fall through it.

I also oppose this rule because it is extremely limiting to this vital discussion in which we are about to engage. The debate on the Federal budget is a discussion of our national priorities, and the fundamental principle of democracy really dictates that we all have an opportunity to participate in the lawmaking process.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, for those just tuning in, this might well be called "Trillions after 10," because as we approach the 10 o'clock in the evening hour here in Washington, we are beginning to consider how trillions of dollars, of taxpayers' dollars of the American people, are to be expended.

Why this manner of consideration? Because this Republican budget, taken up after a full day of dilly-dallying, like most of this Congress, this Republican budget is truly a national embarrassment. It rejects the whole spirit of bipartisanship that produced the first balanced budget in decades, and the largest Federal surplus in the history of this Nation as a result of a bipartisan spirit.

Instead of a bipartisan approach to trying to resolve our budget for the next few years, the approach we hear tonight is the same tired old rhetoric of tax and spend that had to be rejected in order to get us together in a bipartisan spirit for this budget.

We came in as members of the Committee on the Budget to consideration of this proposal in much like the circumstances we find ourselves in tonight, with a take-it-or-leave-it budget, that rejected at the outset the number one goal of budgeting this year, and that is to save Social Security, first and foremost.

We presented an amendment that suggested that every penny of this large surplus ought to be devoted to protecting and preserving the Social Security system. That approach was rejected. It is rejected in this embarrassing Republican midnight budget.

Secondly, we said, recognize that there are a lot of American families out there struggling to make a go of it. Give them a targeted tax cut to address their needs with reference to child care, and support public education for those families that are trying to help their children get through our public schools.

Instead, this Republican budget proposes to eliminate the only Federal

program that provides direct assistance to our schools for economically disadvantaged children. It is an embarrassing budget that rejects the needs of America's families and the needs of this Congress to work together.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I just have to say, there they go again. I am one of these old-timers. I keep records. Members can go up in my Committee on Rules office up there, and I keep a record on everybody who votes against our rules we bring down here. I just need Members to know that.

I also keep a record of how people vote on increasing spending and decreasing spending. I follow the National Taxpayers Union's rating. I cannot help but call attention to everyone here the fact that most of these speakers who are speaking are the same ones who are rated as the biggest spenders in the Congress by the National Taxpayers Union. Not only are they rated that way by the National Taxpayers Union, they are rated that way by me, because I keep track of them.

All last year when people like myself were offering cutting amendments to all of these appropriation bills, cut a little here, cut a little there, somehow to save a little, to tighten our belts, these same people that are standing up here talking were voting against all of those cuts. As a matter of fact, I have never seen them vote for one cut in spending.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from somewhere in California (Mr. DAVID DREIER), a real spending cutter.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, from somewhere in California, I thank my friend for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to think back to 3 years ago, when, at the second lectern right behind us, the President, in delivering his State of the Union message to an overwhelming bipartisan ovation, said the era of big government is over.

Then I am reminded of what he did here just this past January, when he unveiled his plan for \$150 billion of new spending programs, and it included, as I guess the gentleman from Ohio (Chairman KASICH) told us in the Committee on Rules last night, 85 new programs, 39 new entitlements, \$130 billion in new taxes.

□ 2200

And then I was struck with the fact that just a few weeks after that the new premiere of the People's Republic of China, Zhu Rongji, unveiled his plan to close down 14 government ministries and lay off 4 million bureaucrats. And as we debate this China-U.S. problem that we have got that the administration has quite possibly created, I wonder which government is headed in the right direction.

Thank God we are having this debate which is beginning to focus back onto the issue of individual initiative and responsibility and creating a climate where we will have Washington do better with less so that the American family will do better with more.

Now it seems to me that, as we look at this, one of the things that was very troubling to me, and I raised it last night when the ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget was in the Committee on Rules, was this idea of saying that any time that we look at the prospect of cutting taxes it has to be offset with a tax increase. I am not a big fan of this paygo provision, because we found that since we were able to reduce the top rate on capital gains what happened? We have generated a tremendous surge in revenues to the Federal Treasury.

Mr. Speaker, 172 Democrats and Republicans joined with us in our quest to reduce that top rate on capital gains from 28 to 14 percent. We did not quite get there. But I am convinced that if we were to go even further we could generate another level of revenues to the Treasury.

I think that what we need to do is we need to have a cut in the payroll tax. 75 percent of the American people pay more in payroll taxes than they do in Federal income taxes. It seems to me that we are now at least starting to get back on the right track, countering what was said here at the State of the Union message earlier.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support of this rule, and I urge support of the Kasich budget that we will be moving forward with.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, as we discuss our budget, we are really discussing the priorities that the American people have for the utilization of its resources. And certainly any budget discussion should include a variety of alternatives. Indeed, the majority denied one alternative which perhaps could have met in a consensus of the Members of this House on both sides. It might not have been the one that I wanted, but still we needed a full discussion of it.

I also rise to say that the proposal that we have here in terms of the Kasich bill denies the bipartisan approach that we had when we had the balanced budget agreement of last year. This violates the principles of it. It violates the undergirding caps of it. It has a black hole. We do not even know how indeed we are going to finance the resources for paying for the transportation bill, which is the bill of authority. And we know there ought to be a fire wall between the trust fund and this bill. It has many inconsistencies that one would think one who would want to be prudent in the spending and caring for priorities would address.

For that reason, I urge that we reject this rule, because it is not only unfair but it is the wrong way to discuss the priorities which will utilize the resources of the American people, and it certainly is unfair for us now to undo what we did last year where we had a balanced budget that indeed was crafted with a bipartisan approach. I urge a "no" on this vote.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the Chair how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). The gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) has 13½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) has 14 minutes remaining.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY), the ranking member, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, here we do go again. After 30 years of partisanship and 30 years of red ink, I thought we learned something in 1997. When the parties work together, they can balance the budget, and we should all be proud that we did that in 1997.

There is a proposal that would build on that tradition. It was put forward by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM). It deserves a hearing on this floor. It is not perfect. It may not even win majority support. I would support it, as I intend to support the budget offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), but it deserves a hearing because it builds a bridge between the two parties, and it builds a bridge between this House and the other body.

We should reject this rule because this rule rejects our right to fully and fairly debate all of the alternatives before the American people. Reject this rule. Give us a chance to debate all the alternatives.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER).

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I stand in support of the rule, of course, which makes in order three alternative budgets tonight. Frankly, two of them seem to me pretty good ideas.

Both of them, one sponsored by the gentleman from Ohio (Chairman KASICH) and one by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. NEUMANN), they spend less, but they also make a number one priority elimination of the marriage tax penalty suffered by 42 million taxpayers. The Democratic proposal spends more, taxes more, and fails to address the marriage tax penalty suffered by 42 million taxpayers.

Let me explain why elimination of the marriage tax penalty is so very, very important to 42 million taxpayers.

Think about it. Do Americans feel that it is fair that under our current Tax Code a married working couple pays more in taxes just because they are married? Do Americans feel that it is fair that 21 million married working couples pay \$1,400 more in higher taxes just because they are married than an identical couple with identical incomes that live together outside of marriage?

Americans back home in Chicago and the south suburbs feel that is wrong. Let me give an example of a south suburban couple in the suburbs of Chicago, Joliet, a machinist who works at Caterpillar and a schoolteacher in the Joliet public schools. This Joliet Caterpillar machinist makes \$30,500 a year. If he is single, under our current Tax Code, after the standard deductions and exemptions, he is in the 15 percent tax bracket. If he meets and marries a gal who is a public schoolteacher with an identical income and they combine their incomes, under our Tax Code, if they file jointly, their combined income of \$61,000 after standard deductions and exemptions still makes them pay more taxes. Almost \$1,400 more they pay under our Tax Code today.

That is wrong that the average working married couple pays, on average, \$1,400 more just because they are married. And the Republican budgets eliminate the marriage tax penalty. Think about it. For this couple in Joliet, this machinist at Caterpillar, this public schoolteacher at the Joliet public schools, \$1,400 is real money. For some in Washington, \$1,400 is a drop in the bucket, but for this couple in Joliet \$1,400 is one year's tuition at the local community college at Joliet Junior College. \$1,400 is 3 months' day care in the local day care center. That is real money for this machinist and schoolteacher.

If we care for working families, let us eliminate the marriage tax penalty. Why? Because it is real money for real people. And I think like I know a lot of my friends do, and it should be a bipartisan concern. We should allow this machinist and this schoolteacher to keep more of what they earn. Is it fair that they pay a penalty because they are married? Of course not. Let us eliminate the marriage tax penalty.

There are three alternative budgets here. Even the one that was proposed that was not listed that everyone keeps referring to on the other side fails to address what should be our number one priority this year, that is eliminating the marriage tax penalty. I urge adoption of the rule and the elimination of the marriage tax penalty.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the ranking member of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman who just spoke said that our resolution, the substitute which I am

offering on behalf of the Democratic Caucus, makes no effort to mitigate the marital tax penalty, and that is not correct.

Section 11 says, it is the sense of the Congress that the Committee on Ways and Means should undertake high-priority tax relief of at least \$30 billion over 5 years and lists four things we would like to accomplish; and the fourth is mitigate the Tax Code marriage penalties in a manner at least equal in scope to the 1995 tax relief provision of H.R. 2491, which was a Republican bill.

We are endorsing that. Twice the gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, has moved a marital tax mitigation bill. Twice the majority on the committee have rejected it. Last year, he moved it in the Committee on the Budget, and they rejected it. We are calling for action this year in our resolution also.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for letting us on the Democratic side of the aisle come forward and acknowledge that for a long time we have been fighting as well against the marriage penalty, and I appreciate the gentleman's clarification.

Mr. Speaker, we are here today because the budget resolution of last year was a bipartisan effort. But I will assure my colleagues that I am not going to support this rule or any part of this budget that cuts the entitlements of people who are in need of some \$56 billion. Entitlements including \$12 billion in Medicaid, \$10 billion in temporary assistance for needy families.

The proposed Republican plan would terminate all direct Federal assistance to public schools in our poorest areas, particularly repealing Title I grants. It is as well shocking that the Republican plan guts the discretionary education program by \$6 billion. We who claim to be in support of family values, we who claim to be in support of children, and yet we are cutting some \$28.7 million from the State of Texas Child Family Services. Child Care and Adult Protective Services will be reduced by \$8.89 million, and the Texas Workforce Commission will be cut by \$340,000.

Mr. Speaker, let me say this is a bad bill. I urge my colleagues to vote against the rule and vote against the budget as well.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to voice my concerns about H. Con. Res. 284, the House Budget Resolution. I strongly object to the Budget that has been proposed by the Republican leadership.

I believe that the hope and future of this country depends on its children, and this Budget Resolution does not provide our young people with the access to child care, health

care and education that they deserve and need to become healthy and independent members of our workforce and communities.

The Republican plan misses every opportunity to make constructive investments in our future to improve our government's services and benefits for our citizens who need it most. The Republican plan cuts entitlement by \$56 billion dollars. Entitlements including \$12 Billion in Medicaid, \$10 Billion in Temporary Assistance for Needy Families!

This is a travesty! How can we say that we care about the health and welfare of our future, about our children's health when we remove poor children's access to crucial health care?

And what about our children's chances for education, for advancement, for their chance to be respected, learned and contributive members of our communities? The Republicans themselves have criticized the plan. Senator DOMENICI in relation to the bill said "You just can't do this. This is just not a possible solution and we [in the Senate] would not do it because we couldn't live with it in the waning days of the session."

If the Republicans themselves say they cannot live with the bill, how can our most needy and most vulnerable populations live with such a plan? The answer is that our children, our inner city poor, our single parents, will suffer and unfairly, if this absurd Republican plan is passed.

The proposed Republican plan would terminate all direct federal assistance to public school districts in our poorest areas by repealing Title I grants. It is shocking that the Republican plan cuts the discretionary education program by \$6 billion below last year's Balanced Budget Agreement and \$7 billion below our Democratic plan.

It will eliminate Americorps and the Legal Services Corporation both which provide critical assistance to many of our poor citizens who need to secure housing, fair pay and a fair chance.

We must put the health and welfare of our people, our families, our communities first. The Republican plan would freeze WIC, and head start at 1998 funding levels for 5 years, as well as section 8 Housing causing at least a million households to lose federal vouchers and certificates by 2003.

In fact 14 percent of the Mandatory cuts come from low income programs, hitting those who need the funding the most. Our families who need food stamps for their basic nutritional needs, welfare to work and social service programs, will lose their tentative grip on self-sufficient independent living when all these are erased. Combined with the proposed \$12 billion worth of cuts in Medicaid/Children's Health Insurance Program, almost 49% of the Republican's mandatory cuts hit programs for the poor and near poor, even though these programs constitute only about one-fifth of all entitlements.

In the President's state of the Union address, he proposed initiatives in child care, health care and education, yet, the Republicans in Budget Committee voted to reject every single initiative, even the most inexpensive. We have a responsibility to provide for our nation's future—and all the people who need services to survive and to thrive.

In my home state of Texas, proposed cuts in the Social Services Block Grant will result in a loss to the State of Texas of approximately \$28.7 million. Child and Family Services, Child Care Regulation and Adult Protective Services will be reduced by \$8.89 million from the amount they currently receive, and the Texas Workforce Commission which receives 1.2% of the Texas allocation and supports child care for low income families will be cut by 17% or \$340,000. The Department of Human Services providing Family Violence and Community Care Services will lose 14.34 million dollars.

In Harris County where I live, poverty has increased 42%, and 240 thousand children are living in poverty, and 30,000 families are on the waiting list for child care assistance. Child abuse and neglect accounts for 20% of all children's homicides in the county, and only 42.7% of all the children who were abused in Harris County actually received any therapeutic services.

I urge my colleagues to think carefully when they cast their votes this evening on H. Con. Res. 284. It is critical that we consider fairness, and compassion in making their decisions. We must provide adequate resources to ensure our America, our children a strong and healthy future.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. RODRIGUEZ).

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Mr. Speaker, in this budget resolution, why are we asking our veterans to give up more than they have already sacrificed? We looked in terms of the recommendations that were being brought up, and it was brought in terms of a "new vision." It was presented as a "new vision."

Mr. Speaker, what kind of a new vision is it? I cannot even imagine cutting one of the following programs. This new vision eliminates the cost-of-living adjustments for education and service-connected veterans benefits. It eliminates the cost-of-living adjustments for low-income wartime veterans who receive a pension. It eliminates dependent benefits for veterans whose service-connected disabilities are rated at 30, 40, and 50 percent. It eliminates compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities rated at 10 percent.

Is that the new vision that the majority is presenting? Is this the vision that goes after those individuals who have fought for our country? Again, even if such drastic benefits reductions have changed and continue to be made, we would still have met less than half of the savings required under the Budget Resolution.

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs has done its fair share through the era of downsizing and cutbacks. I find it profoundly unfair that at this time we come back and hit those individuals that have fought for our country. We are asking to cut \$10.4 billion total from veterans service.

At this time, I ask Members to vote against the rule and consider reas-

sessing that warped vision that they have.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH), the hard-working member of the Committee on the Budget with his very impressive chart.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am a farmer from Michigan and seems to me we need to get the budget hay out of the mow and down on that barn floor where we can chew on it a little bit.

This graph represents what has been happening to spending in this country. There has been a lot of complaints from liberals that would like to spend more, have government bigger and solve more problems in Washington. Of course that would mean increase taxes or increase borrowing.

This chart shows that, in 1994, we were spending about \$1.4 trillion. By 2003, the last year of this new 5-year budget, we are going to be spending \$1.9 trillion, over a 30 percent increase in spending. Spending even on this budget increases almost twice as fast as inflation.

In the final year of this budget, in the fifth year, 2003, we are spending about \$1.9 trillion. If we followed the President's and the Democrats' recommendations, we would be spending \$67 billion more in that 1 year alone.

□ 2215

The question before us is do we want bigger government or more efficient government? Do we want more taxes or fewer taxes? Do we want to continue borrowing or pay down debt? What has brought about economic vitality is the fact that government is borrowing less money.

Now, through these years shown on this chart, we are also going to experience the largest surplus in our history. In some of these years tax revenues are increasing four times the inflation rate. So if we want to help American families, if we want to stimulate the economy, if we want to make it easier for working families to spend more time with our children, we need to continue tax cuts. Let us also look at starting to pay down the debt of this government.

As we look back over past years, I think it is fair to say that some of us have been determined to reduce the size of this government, reduce taxes and try to make this huge bureaucracy more efficient. One way to make this government more efficient is to tighten the purse strings. If there is any operation in the United States that has opportunity to be more efficient and at the same time provide more and better services to the American people, it is the Federal government.

I hope that we all appreciate the fact that there are better and more efficient ways to spend taxpayers moneys. There are better ways to serve the citizens of

the United States. Even this budget that has been criticized for not spending enough, increases spending twice the rate of inflation. In the early 1990s, we had budgets that increased over 9 percent a year. This budget increase spending 2 to 3 to 4 percent a year. In conclusion, let us reduce the growth in spending, reduce taxes, and reduce the public debt and start saving Social Security. We can do that by supporting this rule and supporting this budget.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the rule and the budget resolution because again we are playing politics more than balancing budgets. Why, for example, did not the rule allow the Stenholm-Minge budget to be considered? The reason it did not was because it probably would have passed, because it is virtually identical to the Senate budget resolution. Instead we are on the path that we were on in the 104th Congress that led to two government shutdowns. Why are we doing this again?

When you look at this budget resolution, you realize that this budget cannot pass, that we cannot reach agreement on its specifics nor its cumulative impact. For example, \$3.3 billion is cut from the Federal Employees Health Benefits Plan. CBO estimates that means Federal employees, instead of paying 28 percent for their health insurance which they do now, in 7 years will be paying 50 percent of their health insurance premiums. Last year we took \$5 billion away from Federal employees, and we said in return we are going to at least provide health insurance security, then this year we take it away from them. How are we going to provide the kind of quality professional Federal work force that we need when we cannot retain and recruit people, when we cannot even keep our promises?

Throughout this budget we have got the very kinds of things we encountered in the 104th Congress, things that are going to create problems throughout the rest of this term, things that are bound to create problems within our appropriations bills and are going to put us in the very same situation that caused us to shut down the government. We should not be on this path. We should be finding a way to reach agreement. The Stenholm-Minge budget resolution would have enabled us to do that. That is why it is not part of this rule. That is why we should oppose this rule. What we ought to be doing is trying to find reconciliation instead of trying to foment division.

When you look at what we do to dependent groups, whether it be veterans, whether it be Federal employees, whether it be people dependent on Medicare or the people that are affected by welfare reform, or children

stuck in inferior education systems—all of them get hurt far more than our constituents would want. Vote against this budget rule and the budget resolution.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. RIVERS).

Ms. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, during the budget hearing the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) made an amazing statement. He said, "I know that most Americans, interestingly enough, do not believe that we are actually going to have a balanced budget. We are going to have a balanced budget, but they don't believe it. So not only don't they believe it is going to be balanced, they do not believe there is going to be a surplus."

Now I call that amazing, not because the public does not trust us, but because the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) seemed surprised by the fact that the public does not trust us. Balancing the budget and the surplus comes up in my district all the time. My constituents are not confused by the issue at all. They understand that the budget can be called balanced only when one includes the monies from the various trust funds, most notably Social Security. They also understand that when Social Security monies are removed from the mix, the surplus evaporates and the Federal budget is actually in deficit to the tune of nearly \$100 billion a year for the indefinite future.

The Blue Dog budget operates from the realities that I just mentioned. But this rule deprives the public of the opportunity to hear debate on that proposal. Why do not the folks at home trust us? Maybe it is because of decisions like that.

If the chairman is concerned about our credibility out there in the real world, he should reconsider this budget. Well, first, it does not add up. You have heard about a \$5 billion hole that has not been fixed as this budget has proceeded. You have heard about double counting the cuts, and about sleight of hand which makes us pretend that decisions like the transportation bill and the food stamp decision earlier this evening do not really exist. It all ignores reality. And the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) is surprised that the public does not trust us.

They have also said it is just 1 percent, anybody can take a 1 percent cut, which of course is meant to lead people into believing that all programs will share equally in the cuts. It is not true. Two-thirds of all the spending we do will not be part of these reductions.

Let us take a look at what will happen over the next five years, starting with before the balanced budget agreement started. We find a 21.2 percent cut in international affairs in the face of an increasingly perilous world, 30 percent in housing, 16 percent in regional

and community development 2 percent in transportation, 12 percent, 1 percent. It is not so, and we wonder why people do not trust us.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH), my favorite play-by-play sportscaster.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from California for yielding me this time.

This is not a game nor an athletic event, nor an exercise in partisan politics. My friend from Michigan who preceded me in the well wondered aloud why people do not trust us. There is a fundamental reason for the cynicism, Mr. Speaker. The distrust comes because when we are given an historic opportunity to rein in the growth of government, not to radically cut spending but to rein it in and reduce its size, sadly we hear the familiar litany of fear and smear and that the sky is falling in and that there will be those who will bear the brunt of these cuts.

Mr. Speaker, I am serving my second term in this body, and one thing I know about a budget statement is that it is a road map, a statement of principles that sets a goal. As we all know, we go through the appropriations process to decide how money is to be spent. So all the talk about all the cuts and all the fear is just talk.

Mr. Speaker, that is why a group who used to control this body no longer does. That is why the American people and my constituents in the 6th District say something very simple. For the last half century, they have been called on time and time again to sacrifice so that Washington could spend more. They tell me overwhelmingly and resoundingly, it is time for Washington to sacrifice so that working families can keep more.

That is the essence of the debate tonight, to restore trust in this process and to restore fiscal sanity and to maintain spending at more than the rate of inflation, certainly not draconian cuts. Reasonableness and common sense demand that we support the rule and support the budgetary process to offer this sensible road map to improve and to build upon what was done before, not to be locked into stagnation or into a revisionist history that would say that tax increases are laudable and desirable, not to continue with the mistaken notion that if we only spend more and if we only tax more and if we only ask more of the American people, then that is the key to nirvana or success. No, nothing could be further from the truth.

The fact is that the minority should stand with us and improve upon that historic agreement by stepping forward to say, let us live within reasonable limits, for those reasonable limits offer true compassion that working families understand and offer that restoration of trust so vital across this country.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding me the time.

I rise in opposition to the rule and to the budget resolution; in opposition to the rule because it deprives this body of the opportunity to debate other alternatives, for example, the Blue Dog budget.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that our budget should be a statement of our national values. But in the budget bill before us the priorities and values are seriously askew. This budget plan is cowardly and irresponsible. It is cowardly because it masks the deep cuts it would make in education, health and nutrition programs by providing few details about which programs will be downsized and defunded. This budget is irresponsible because it violates the carefully crafted budget agreement that everyone is paying homage to here tonight, but this budget violates that carefully crafted budget agreement which passed the Congress last year.

This budget today dedicated budget surpluses to untested private accounts for Social Security, when we should be shoring up the long-term financial health of the entire Social Security system. By cutting Medicaid \$12 billion, we miss opportunities to expand health care access for children through the Children's Health Insurance Program. This is a very important investment for our country. The budget targets steep cuts on nondefense programs which are investments which pay off for us.

Once again, when some Members want to look like budget hawks, it is the family, the working families of America, the poor, the young and the old who are their prey. But the programs, the investments that we should be making in Medicare, Medicaid, the Earned Income Tax Credit, food stamps, education and many other vital initiatives would all be cut substantially.

Today we need a spending plan, an investment plan that protects Social Security, health and education, a budget that attends to our domestic strength and security as well as our international strength, and it must be done in a fiscally sound way. I urge my colleagues to oppose the rule and the budget resolution.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM), elder statesman of the Blue Dog Caucus.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) is recognized for 4 minutes.

□ 2230

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this rule because of its unfair treatment of the

Blue Dog budget. We have heard a lot of rhetoric tonight about what is or is not in anybody's budget. Some of it has been true. Some of it has been stretching. The Blue Dog budget that we wanted to offer and have a chance for an honest and open debate on would have moved us toward a consensus by narrowing the differences in this body instead of dividing us as we are hearing tonight. The Blue Dogs tried to find a reasonable, realistic alternative to the budget resolution based on a simple philosophy. When you have a game plan that is working, you should stick with it.

Unlike the President's budget, we did not think it was wise to reopen the budget agreement for new, major spending initiatives. Unlike the majority's resolution, we did not think it was wise to call for another round of spending cuts until we have enacted the spending cuts we said we were going to do in the last year's balanced budget agreement.

We support tax cuts, including the abolition of the marriage penalty. And we agree with many of the initiatives in the President's budget. But we believe that staying the course on the budget agreement until we balance the budget, without relying on the Social Security trust fund, is a greater priority.

Our amendment would have saved 100 percent of the projected unified budget surplus for Social Security and recommend the unified budget surplus be reserved to fund the cost of Social Security reform legislation. Our budget reaffirmed the principle that budget discipline should be maintained until the budget is balanced without relying on the annual surplus in the Social Security trust fund. Our budget was based on the principle that the numbers in our budget should be honest and realistic. That is where our budget differs the most from the budget reported by the committee, especially with the changes in the manager's amendment.

Our budget incorporated the changes in the ISTEPA bill, BESTEPA bill and the agricultural research bill as estimated and paid for by CBO in order to provide a credible budget blueprint that reflects the realities of this body. We do not reopen Medicare, Medicaid, Federal retirement and other mandatory programs for additional reductions. We did not double count savings as the majority does tonight in the resolution they bring before us. We do not rely on unspecified spending cuts mainly backloaded until 4 or 5 years from now in order to pay for a tax cut up front.

Mr. SOLOMON, there you go again. I remember down the road that magic asterisk in David Stockman's budget that you and I both voted for and we are doing it again tonight with this resolution and I am not going to give credit to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) for this because I know he is

not for doing what the Speaker has ordered somebody to do.

We hear a lot of rhetoric around here about free speech. Well, free speech apparently does not apply to action on this House floor when it comes to having alternatives considered and an honest debate, an honest debate between a little different idea between the majority and the minority.

I do not understand what you fear. I fear that every dog in America is going to wake up tomorrow morning a Democrat. I hope he will. Because we are discriminating against dogs. The CATS got their amendment, the Conservative Action Team. They said, "You bet, come on the floor, debate your idea." But the Dogs, "No, you can't have your time on the floor." That is wrong. That is wrong.

We should defeat this rule. We should allow the Blue Dogs and others to have our opportunity to debate our idea in a free and open debate. This rule will shut down the Blue Dogs' opportunity to debate our idea. What are they afraid of? Why not let us have an opportunity to have our day in court.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, to close the debate on our side, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT) a member of the Committee on the Budget who is neither a CAT nor a Dog.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 4½ minutes.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from somewhere in California for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I was thinking about this debate, and what we have been doing for the last several months in talking about the budget. I was trying to figure out what I could say tonight and to my colleagues and to my constituents about this budget. But I was listening to the debate earlier. It was interesting because it almost seems like *deja vu*. Have we not been here before? Have we not had this debate before? With people saying, "You can't do that. You can't eliminate 300 programs. You can't balance the budget and provide tax relief. You can't reform welfare. You can't require able-bodied people to work." We did all of those things. And the budget is now balanced. We have come so far. Now they are saying, "Well, you can't reduce the rate of growth in Federal spending by 1 percent and eliminate the marriage penalty tax." They are saying, "You can't do that."

I was trying to think, how can we use some kind of a prop or some kind of an analogy to demonstrate what this debate is all about. Finally, I came upon it. I asked my staff to go out and see if they could not find a nine foot belt. We could not find a nine foot belt. What we found was three belts. We put them all together. It is nine feet long. Every foot of this belt represents \$1 trillion.

That is how much the Federal Government is going to spend over the next 5 years, \$9 trillion. Anywhere you go, whether it is in Texas, whether it is in Ohio, in Minnesota, Michigan, wherever you go, I think everyone will agree that \$9 trillion is a lot of money.

What the Committee on the Budget has come up with is a fairly simple plan. They said if we could get the Federal Government, if we could get our colleagues on the Committee on Appropriations to simply tighten this belt one notch, one notch, we can eliminate that marriage penalty tax. As earlier the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) said, this affects about 21 million couples and they pay a penalty of about \$1,400 per family. Everyone that spoke tonight has said that is wrong, it is bad tax policy, it is bad family policy, and frankly it is downright immoral that we require married couples to pay a higher tax than if they lived together without the benefit of marriage. And so all we are asking tonight is for our friends on the Committee on Appropriations, and if we work together on a bipartisan basis, I believe, and frankly I will guarantee you 98 percent of the people who might be watching this on C-SPAN will agree that we can get ourselves to tighten this nine foot belt simply one notch.

I know there are people on this side of the aisle, in fact, I think there may even be some people on this side of the aisle who say, "You can't do that." But I will flat guarantee you that out in middle America, most Americans believe that you can tighten this belt one notch. That is all we are asking for.

I submit this rule is fair. We will have a thorough debate of three different alternatives. But in the end, Mr. Speaker, I will suggest to my colleagues that the Kasich budget, it is fair, it is reasonable, it is responsible, and frankly it is long overdue. I think we ought to approve the rule, we ought to vote for the Kasich budget and we ought to send a clear message to America that yes, we can tighten this nine foot belt simply one notch.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) has 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, with that I would like to urge support of this rule.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered. The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 216, nays 197, not voting 20, as follows:

[Roll No. 205]

YEAS—216

Aderholt	Gibbons	Packard
Archer	Gilchrest	Pappas
Army	Gillmor	Parker
Bachus	Gilman	Paul
Baker	Goodlatte	Paxon
Ballenger	Goodling	Pease
Barr	Goss	Peterson (PA)
Barrett (NE)	Graham	Petri
Bartlett	Granger	Pickering
Barton	Greenwood	Pitts
Bass	Gutknecht	Pombo
Bereuter	Hansen	Porter
Bilbray	Hastert	Portman
Billrakis	Hastings (WA)	Pryce (OH)
Bliley	Hayworth	Quinn
Blunt	Heger	Radanovich
Boehlert	Hill	Ramstad
Boehner	Hilleary	Reidmond
Bonilla	Hobson	Regula
Bono	Hoekstra	Riggs
Brady (TX)	Horn	Riley
Bryant	Hostettler	Rogan
Bunning	Houghton	Rogers
Burr	Hulshof	Rohrabacher
Burton	Hunter	Roukema
Buyer	Hutchinson	Royce
Callahan	Hyde	Ryun
Calvert	Inglis	Salmon
Camp	Istook	Sanford
Campbell	Jenkins	Saxton
Canady	Johnson (CT)	Scarborough
Cannon	Johnson, Sam	Schaefer, Dan
Chabot	Jones	Schaffer, Bob
Chambliss	Kasich	Sensenbrenner
Chenoweth	Kelly	Sessions
Christensen	Kim	Shadegg
Coble	King (NY)	Shaw
Coburn	Kingston	Shays
Collins	Klug	Shimkus
Combest	Knollenberg	Shuster
Cook	Kolbe	Skeen
Cooksey	LaHood	Smith (MI)
Cox	Largent	Smith (NJ)
Crane	Latham	Smith (TX)
Crapo	LaTourrette	Smith, Linda
Cubin	Lazio	Snowbarger
Cunningham	Leach	Solomon
Davis (VA)	Lewis (CA)	Souder
Deal	Lewis (KY)	Spence
DeLay	Linder	Stearns
Diaz-Balart	Livingston	Stump
Dickey	LoBiondo	Sununu
Doolittle	Lucas	Talent
Dreier	Manzullo	Tauzin
Duncan	McCollum	Taylor (NC)
Dunn	McCrery	Thomas
Ehlers	McHugh	Thornberry
Ehrlich	McInnis	Thune
English	McIntosh	Tiahrt
Ensign	McKeon	Trafiacant
Everett	Metcaif	Upton
Ewing	Mica	Walsh
Fawell	Miller (FL)	Wamp
Foley	Moran (KS)	Watkins
Forbes	Myrick	Watts (OK)
Fossella	Nethercutt	Weldon (FL)
Fowler	Neumann	Weldon (PA)
Fox	Ney	Weller
Franks (NJ)	Northup	White
Frellichuysen	Norwood	Wicker
Gallegly	Nussle	Wolf
Gekas	Oxley	Young (FL)

NAYS—197

Abercrombie	Bishop	Capps
Ackerman	Blagojevich	Cardin
Allen	Blumenauer	Carson
Andrews	Bonior	Castle
Baesler	Borski	Clay
Baldacci	Boswell	Clayton
Barcia	Boucher	Clement
Barrett (WI)	Boyd	Clyburn
Becerra	Brady (PA)	Condit
Bentsen	Brown (CA)	Costello
Berman	Brown (FL)	Coyne
Berry	Brown (OH)	Cramer

Cummings	Kennelly	Peterson (MN)
Danner	Kildee	Pickett
Davis (FL)	Kilpatrick	Pomeroy
Davis (IL)	Kind (WI)	Poshard
DeFazio	Kleccka	Price (NC)
DeGette	Klink	Rahall
DeLauro	Kucinich	Rangel
Deutsch	LaFalce	Rivers
Dicks	Lampson	Rodriguez
Dingell	Lantos	Roemer
Dixon	Lee	Rothman
Doggett	Levin	Roybal-Allard
Dooley	Lipinski	Rush
Doyle	Lofgren	Sabo
Edwards	Lowe	Sánchez
Emerson	Luther	Sanders
Eshoo	Maloney (CT)	Sandlin
Etheridge	Maloney (NY)	Sawyer
Evans	Manton	Scott
Farr	Markey	Serrano
Fattah	Mascara	Sherman
Fazio	Matsui	Sisisky
Filner	McCarthy (MO)	Skaggs
Ford	McCarthy (NY)	Skelton
Frost	McDermott	Slaughter
Ganske	McGovern	Smith, Adam
Gejdenson	McHale	Snyder
Gephardt	McIntyre	Spratt
Goode	McKinney	Stabenow
Gordon	McNulty	Stenholm
Green	Meehan	Stokes
Gutierrez	Meek (FL)	Strickland
Hall (OH)	Meeks (NY)	Stupak
Hall (TX)	Menendez	Tanner
Hamilton	Millender	Tauscher
Hastings (FL)	McDonald	Taylor (MS)
Hefner	Miller (CA)	Minge
Hilliard	Mink	Thompson
Hinchey	Moakley	Thurman
Hinojosa	Moran (VA)	Tierney
Holden	Morella	Torres
Hooley	Murtha	Towns
Hoyer	Nadler	Turner
Jackson (IL)	Neal	Velázquez
Jackson-Lee	Oberstar	Vento
(TX)	Obey	Visclosky
Jefferson	Oliver	Waters
John	Ortiz	Watt (NC)
Johnson (WI)	Owens	Waxman
Johnson, E. B.	Pallone	Wexler
Kanjorski	Pascrell	Weygand
Kaptur	Pastor	Wise
Kennedy (MA)	Payne	Woolsey
Kennedy (RI)	Pelosi	Wynn

NOT VOTING—20

Bateman	Hefley	Schumer
Conyers	Lewis (GA)	Smith (OR)
Engel	Martinez	Stark
Frank (MA)	McDade	Whitfield
Furse	Mollohan	Yates
Gonzalez	Reyes	Young (AK)
Harman	Ros-Lehtinen	

□ 2257

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the resolution just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE SENATE AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 2709, IRAN MISSILE PROLIFERATION SANCTIONS ACT OF 1997

Mr. DREIER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-566) on the resolution (H. Res. 457) providing for the consideration of the Senate amendments to the bill (H.R. 2709) to impose certain sanctions on foreign persons who transfer items contributing to Iran's efforts to acquire, develop, or produce ballistic missiles, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2183, BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN INTEGRITY ACT OF 1997

Mr. DREIER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-567) on the resolution (H. Res. 458) providing for further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2183) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

□ 2300

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Pursuant to House Resolution 455 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 284.

□ 2300

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 284) revising the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1998, establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1999, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2003, with Mr. GILCREST in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the concurrent resolution is considered as having been read the first time.

General debate shall not exceed 3 hours, with 2 hours confined to the congressional budget, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on the

Budget, and 1 hour on the subject of economic goals and policies, equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SAXTON) and the gentleman from California (Mr. STARK), or their designees.

The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) each will control 1 hour of debate on the congressional budget.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH).

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I want to, first of all, begin by talking about the fact that last year we were as a Congress able to reach an historic agreement that is going to be able to achieve for the first time since we walked on the moon a balanced budget. We also anticipate that in the course of this year we will have a surplus. It will be generated primarily from the Social Security taxes as part of the budget. And next year, I am going to predict tonight, we will see a surplus in the general fund.

I think it was a significant accomplishment that we were able to move to do something we have not done since we landed on the moon, but, frankly, maybe I need to let you in on a little secret: Our effort here was really never just to balance the budget. Our effort here was really to transfer power, money and influence from this city back to where people live, in every community and every family in America.

Mr. Chairman, Teddy Roosevelt rode into this century with the idea that he should break the monopolies of the big corporations so that people could be set free to be successful. Well, I believe and the members of the Committee on the Budget believe that we ought to ride into the next century and break the monopolies and trusts of the Federal Government so that people can be set free and that we can begin to run America from the bottom up, rather than from the top down.

Whether it is more choice for parents in education or whether it is to allow communities to set the rules and the standards in public housing and in job training or whether it is ultimately to set Americans free, to be able to invest payroll taxes, to be able to prepare for their retirement years, or whether it is beginning to break down that big money-raising machine called the Federal Tax Code that props up the monopolies of the Federal Government, our efforts are to make this city a lot less important, to make this city and government a lot more efficient and a lot more effective, and to make the budget of government a lot smaller and the budget of the family a heck of a lot bigger.

Now, we reached this historic agreement last year. This budget agreement, historic only from the standpoint we

have not achieved this in over 30 years, we viewed that agreement as a ceiling on government; not a floor of the growth of government, but a ceiling on government. The President, however, and many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, viewed the agreement last year as a floor on government and not a ceiling.

Now, can you imagine, with an American people, an American electorate that has very little confidence in the fact that we can get a balanced budget, that the President came up here to Capitol Hill and he announced a program that would increase fees and taxes by \$130 billion? Think about that. The President of the United States, who declared the era of big government over, within a period of 6 months after we signed an agreement and he declared the end of the era of big government, comes to the House, comes to the House and proposes \$130 billion worth of new tax increases. And that was not enough, because the tax increases were going to fund \$150 billion worth of new spending.

The President of the United States raises taxes by \$130 billion and raises spending by \$150 billion. He has 39 new entitlement programs. I hear so many of my friends talk about the need to control entitlement programs. He has 39 new ones.

I never heard a peep, never heard a peep out of the minority when Franklin Raines came up here to present this President's budget. In fact, the budget resolution that the Democrats offer will provide for bigger government, breaking the spending caps, and having a philosophy that "we like government."

At the same time that the President proposed \$150 billion in new spending and \$130 billion in new taxes and 39 new entitlement programs, we also developed 85 new spending schemes. This is the President that said the era of big government was over. But, you know, he could not really stay with it, because too many people in his party believe in running America from the top down.

There is nothing wrong with somebody that feels that way. I just think that we all know across this country, outside of this Beltway, in most communities, it does not work anymore. What we are really trying to do is to empower people and take power, take power from this city and give it back to people all across this country.

Now, what are we asking to do in this budget resolution? I heard the whole litany, the whole litany of all these things we were going to do.

Mr. Chairman, over the next 5 years, the Federal Government is slated to spend \$9.1 trillion. Do you know what we are asking in our budget resolution for the government to strain under the yoke of? Instead of spending \$9.1 trillion over the next 5 years, and, by the

way, in the last 5 years we spent \$7.8 trillion, we are going to go from \$7.8 trillion in the last 5 years to \$9.1 trillion in the next 5 years, and we are suggesting that we really tighten our belt and we really restrain ourselves and we spend only \$9 trillion to run this Federal Government.

Do you know what that works out to? Talk about *deja vu* all over again. Tim Penny and I came to this floor in a bipartisan effort, the same way the President and I got together on the budget agreement last year, and we proposed that we save 1 penny on every dollar. Do you know why? Because the President raised taxes in 1993, and Tim Penny came to this floor and said we should have some cuts. One penny on every dollar.

Now, I am going to ask a question: Do Members not think they can go home and tell people that the Federal Government cannot become more efficient and more effective and save one penny on every dollar in Federal spending over the next 5 years and cannot live within a budget of \$9 trillion, rather than \$9.1 trillion?

Because you know what they know about back home? They know about the \$800,000 outhouse. You know, the Park Service built an \$800,000 outhouse at the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. The Park Service built new employee homes in Yosemite at an average cost of \$584,000. At the Grand Canyon, the average was \$390,000. More than \$8.5 million was spent on planning, design and supervision at housing at both parks.

Approximately 26,000 deceased persons in four States receive food stamps worth a total of \$8.5 million, according to the GAO. The X-Files, the Forest Service budgeted \$500,000 for a motivational conference to help its employees explore alternative reality. I suppose they were studying Washington. How about \$34 million so that the Jerry Springer Show and Baywatch can be close-captioned?

We look at the reports on fraud and waste and so many of these big programs that we have not had the guts to dig in and begin to fix. And what we are asking is we cannot get all of this accomplished this year, to fix all of this, but what we are saying is, we can find a penny out of every dollar. We can live with only \$9 trillion in spending. And out of those savings, those savings that every American knows is there, we can eliminate the marriage penalty for the 22 million Americans who get penalized because they decided to get married.

You know, the wife goes out to get a job, and all of a sudden she is paying at the high marginal rate. She is paying at the higher tax rate. She is being punished because her husband may earn more than her.

We want to fix that. Do you know why we want to fix that? We want to

fix that because we know that the family is the incubator of everything good that happens in our society. And we look around at the tragedies that we have seen in this country over the period of the last couple of years, and we hold our breath, and you know what we all know? We need better families to provide more love, more hope, more discipline.

But do Members know what? Families are hurting. Tax rates are going to be at the highest level and revenues are going to flow in at the highest level since World War II.

Look, this is just an honest disagreement among some of us about the way we think America ought to work. I do not begrudge the fact that 50 years ago in the middle of the Great Depression that it was necessary for us to send a lot of our power, money and influence to Washington to fix some of the biggest problems, including civil rights and some of the gaps in education.

But do you know what I hear people saying? I hear people saying, I am tired of the country being run from the top down. I want to be involved in solutions that are located in my own community. I want to break the monopolies of government. I want to be set free. I want my power, influence and money back so that I can fix the problems in my family and my community and in the area where I live. And that is what we are trying to do.

Are we getting there all at once? The fact is a penny on a dollar is something that is not very satisfying to me. I would like to do a lot more for people in this country. I would like to let them have a lot more in their pockets. So what we attempt to do with this budget resolution is to say people can get it right at home, that the government can become more efficient, that the government can become more effective, that we can squeeze a penny out of a dollar, that we can live with just \$9 trillion in spending, that we can save \$100 billion, and we can give some of that money to the family.

Because we believe that at every turn of the road the family budget needs to be bigger, the government budget needs to be smaller, and that we need to transfer power, money and influence from government back into the hands of the American people because we trust them and we believe in them. And we are going to work on this every single day.

To my Republican colleagues, when you go home tonight, I want you to think about why we came to power. I want you to think about the fact that this party has always been committed to reducing the size and scope of the government budget, empowering people at the local level.

□ 2315

I want you to think about coming here tomorrow and supporting this.

But I am going to tell you, every single day that I am involved in government and in community activities, I am going to fight the fight to give you the power, the American people the power to solve the problems that they know how to solve best.

I urge support for the resolution and would look forward even to maybe a couple of my friends on the other side of the aisle supporting this resolution.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 6 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, my good friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), the chairman of our committee, is an effective speaker, so effective that, in listening to him, you would hardly perceive how far we have come in the 1990s and particularly since 1993 in coming to grips with what was the most compelling problem facing the Federal Government, a huge, swelling deficit that we seemed not to be able to get our hands around.

Really, the first step we took was in 1990, when Mr. Bush was the President of the United States. He submitted to a budget summit. It was convened at Andrews Air Force Base, and it went on and on and on and finally came to a resolution that fall. We voted on it twice on the House floor.

The first, it was voted down for lack of support on this side of the aisle. We finally mustered the votes to pass a modified version of it. It kept discretionary spending. It raised revenues. It cut entitlements. It was the first serious effort that we had made since we passed Gramm-Rudman, which was barely followed through on, to come to grips with this compelling problem. Its effects were eclipsed by a recession.

But let me not get ahead of myself. When the votes were counted in support of that provision, that budget that Mr. Bush wholeheartedly endorsed, only 47 Republicans voted for it.

In 1993, when Mr. Clinton came to Washington, the deficit the preceding September was \$290 billion and headed upward. Indeed, if the President had read the economic report of Mr. Bush dated January 13, 1993, he would have foreseen, and probably did if he looked at it, that the deficit projected by Mr. Bush for fiscal year 1993 was \$332 billion. That is where we were 5 years ago.

Today, today, there is a deficit no more. We are looking at a surplus of \$43 billion to \$63 billion in September of this year. That is considerable, phenomenal progress. It has been made on the watch of Mr. Clinton. It has been made because of the votes we cast in 1990 and the votes we cast in 1993 when only Democrats in the House and only Democrats in the Senate voted for the Deficit Reduction Act of 1993.

They have had a phenomenal impact on the government of the United

States. They have radically changed, fundamentally changed our fiscal situation. It is better than it has been in a generation. Those are not my words. They are Alan Greenspan's words. Better than it has been in a generation.

We have got to go back to the 1960s to find numbers such as we have today with respect to unemployment, with respect to inflation, and certainly with respect to deficit reduction. Indeed, we will have the biggest surplus we have experienced in history this September. That is good news. That is good news.

What we are concerned about here is that that discipline that has brought us this far from \$300 billion deficits headed upwards to surpluses as far as the eye can now see, the discipline may be dissipated by the budget resolution that the Republicans have proposed, that the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) is pushing. Why is that?

Back in 1990, one of the things we passed was something called a Budget Enforcement Act. This is really esoteric, but there were a couple of common-sense rules in that Budget Enforcement Act.

We said, among other things, we are going to cap, numerically cap, put a dollar cap on discretionary spending for 5 fiscal years. We did it in 1990. We renewed it in 1993. We did it again in 1997. It has worked. We have adhered to those limits, and we have reduced discretionary spending, and we are seeing the results on the bottom line in the form of surpluses that will show up.

In addition, we adopted a common-sense rule called a pay-as-you-go rule, which said simply that, before anybody undertakes to do another tax bill such as the one we did in 1981, they have to pay for it. They can cut taxes, but they have got to offset the revenue losses to the Treasury so it will be deficit neutral either by commensurate cut and entitlements, permanent spending, or by some other adjustments in the Tax Code that would increase revenues to offset the decrease in revenues occasioned by the tax cut. Common-sense rule, but it has worked. That discipline has worked.

What the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) would propose is a budget that would unrealistically lower discretionary spending. He proposes it as though it were 1 percent cut, but we all know it is not a 1 percent cut. He is not cutting Social Security. He is not cutting national defense. He is not cutting interest on the national debt. It is obligatory. It has to be paid.

About one-quarter of the budget in discretionary spending is left subject to cuts. Bob Reischauer has written a very compelling article in which he analyzes the different components of this account, called Discretionary Spending, and shows that really only about half of it is effectively cut.

In last year's budget agreement, we effectively cut over 5 years' discretionary spending by 11 percent. This

year, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) would take another 7 percent. If you consider that it only will actually affect half of discretionary spending, that means the cuts would have to be 35 percent. Does anybody realistically think that will happen? No.

The Republicans have proposed a bill which backloads the cuts. They will not happen this year. We will adopt them now, and on the strength, the promise that they are going to be realized, we will do a big tax cut. That is the third piece of unraveling the discipline that has brought us to where we are. That is why this is a serious debate, and it is a travesty that we are having it at this time of night, at this point in the day, when this should be given the most serious attention we possibly could.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself whatever time I might consume.

Mr. Chairman, let me tell you about this discretionary spending that we have just heard about and how we are going to devastate it. Again, gang, do you know what? I appreciate the gentleman saying, you know, he is an effective speaker. You are not an effective speaker because you just say things. You are an effective speaker because you say things and people go, you know, that makes a lot of sense.

We are going to go from \$7.8 trillion to \$9 trillion in spending, and somebody is making the argument that we are devastating programs. Are you kidding me?

Let me tell you a little bit about the growth in discretionary spending. In 1990, we grew the discretionary budget by 17.7 percent. In 1991, we grew it by 11 percent. In 1992, we grew it by 8.9 percent. In 1993, we grew it by 6.7 percent. Last year, we grew it by 6.7 percent.

I mean, to talk about how we have got to scrimp and how we have got to tighten and how we have got to starve ourselves when we are averaging 7 or 8 percent, the American family wishes they can get 7 or 8 percent a year more in their pockets.

Do you know what we are talking about in the area of entitlement savings? We are talking about saving approximately \$50 billion out of \$5 trillion in spending so that the families can have a little bit more.

See, the problem is, if the American people had a vote, you would not get \$9 trillion to spend. You would not get \$9 trillion if we went in their homes tonight, at their dinner tables, and we said the Federal Government was going to go from \$7.8 trillion to \$9 trillion. Do you know what they would say? Why do you not keep it at \$7.8 trillion? Why do you not freeze it, is what they would say.

We are not talking about freezing it. We are talking about saving \$100 billion. And we strain under that yoke, and we come here and congratulate ourselves.

Let me just suggest another thing to you. I keep hearing about how the Clinton tax increase did so great for our country. Do you know what it did? Slowed the economy down. Drove up interest rates.

Do you know what Alan Greenspan told us? Well, it is a fact. It is a fact. Let me just tell you what Alan Greenspan said. Alan Greenspan came before the Committee on the Budget, and he said, if in fact you can put a budget together that can balance, interest rates will come down.

So what I would argue to the Committee is, it was in 1995, do you remember the President sent us a budget that had deficits as far as the eye could see? He sent us a budget in 1996 and in 1997 that had deficits as far as the eye could see, and we put the plan together to balance the budget and cut taxes, which you said we could not do.

Do you know what happened? Interest rates came down two points. As a result of interest rates coming down two points and as a result of this Republican Congress having some discipline to not just cut spending but also to cut taxes, yeah, we have seen a great spurt of economic growth.

Now to make the argument that if we save more money, that if somehow the Federal Government saves more money, that that is going to have a negative effect on the economy, I ask you to call the Chairman of the Fed tomorrow and ask him what would happen if we would cut Federal spending by \$100 billion and live within the strain of only \$9 trillion.

Do you know what I get told? Do you know what the Fed Chairman tells me? If we do not spend the surplus and we can learn to control government, interest rates can come down even further. Do you know what that will give us? More sustained economic growth and surpluses that will allow us to transform Social Security for three generations and, at the same time, to put us in a position to be able to have tax cuts out of the general fund surplus that I will anticipate we will have next year.

The fact is what we are proposing in this is just a little bit of savings and a little bit more efficiency out of the way this government works. I believe that we can get it done. I believe that we can achieve it.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HERGER).

Mr. HERGER. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate a chance to address the body.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for one second?

Mr. HERGER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, I just want to point out for the record, after the President's 1993 tax bill, a year after the Clinton's 1993 tax hike, long-term Treasury rates moved up from 5.75 percent to 8.25 percent. The trend

of real economic growth slowed from 3.3 percent to 1.7 percent. That is what happened 1 year after the President's tax increase.

It was soon after that that the Republicans became a majority in this Congress and put together a plan that balanced the budget that has resulted in lower interest rates for this country to the tune of two points. That is just a fact.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me.

Mr. HERGER. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my strong support for this budget resolution. It is amazing just how far we have come over the past 4 years.

Just prior to the new leadership taking over our Congress 4 years ago, we had the largest tax increase in our Nation's history of \$270 billion. I might mention to the gentleman from South Carolina that is why virtually no Republican voted for that bill.

It also was an attempt, a Federal attempt, to take over the health care industry of our Nation, one-seventh of our entire economy. That is also why we did not support it. It had in it a deficit of \$203 billion.

In contrast, this last year with the new Congress, we passed a historic budget agreement which placed in law our present steadfast commitment to a balancing for the first time in 30 years the Federal budget. The Congressional Budget Office projects not a \$203 billion deficit as it was under the last Congress but a \$43 billion to \$63 billion surplus this year.

□ 2330

This Congress has also passed the largest tax decrease in 16 years of \$95 billion.

While much progress has been made, some still subscribe to the failed budget policies of the past. Mr. Chairman, the President's budget calls for \$129 billion in tax increases over 5 years, more than \$150 billion in new spending, and 85 new spending programs.

We have a different vision. We know the Federal Government is still too big, too inefficient, and too intrusive in our lives. This budget reduces the rate of growth of government by only one penny out of \$1 over the next 5 years. Making the Federal Government tighten its belt for a change will allow us to completely eliminate the marriage penalty, and save 21 million American couples an average of \$1,400 each year in taxes.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to help build upon our progress, and vote for this budget resolution.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 30 seconds to explain that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EVANS) will explain from his vantage point, as the ranking member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, a major discrepancy in this bill. Namely, it calls upon

the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to reconcile another \$10 billion out of veterans' benefits.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EVANS).

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Chairman, I rise to voice my strong objections to the budget recommended by the Committee on the Budget. This is an anti-veterans budget. It represents a direct frontal assault on the benefits and programs which Congress has carefully considered and enacted into law.

This budget proposal assumes the Committee on Veterans' Affairs will achieve 5-year savings totaling \$10.4 billion, of which \$10 billion is to be achieved by prohibiting service-connected disability compensation for tobacco-related illnesses.

Who are we kidding, here? As all of our colleagues know, and as the Committee on the Budget certainly knows, Congress has already spent the savings associated with this provision.

Is there a single Member of this body who does not understand that shortly before the Memorial Day break, Congress included a provision to prohibit service-connected disability compensation for tobacco-related illnesses in H.R. 2400, the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century, and the savings associated with that provision have already been spent, to partially pay for the spending authorized by H.R. 2400?

As the chairman of the Committee on the Budget knows, the transportation bill is now awaiting the President's signature. It will become law within a matter of days.

My question to the chairman of the Committee on the Budget is simple and direct: Will he commit to crediting the Committee on Veterans' Affairs with achieving this savings directed by House Concurrent Resolution 284, if it reports legislation to prohibit service-connected disability compensation for tobacco-related illnesses? If not, what other veterans' benefits does the gentleman from Ohio, the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, want this committee to reduce or eliminate?

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs has always fulfilled its duty to be responsible and meet the reconciliation targets established for it. Since 1986, in fact, reductions in veterans' programs and benefits have resulted in savings to the Federal Government of over \$12 billion. That is \$12 billion in veterans' benefits savings over 13 years. It is irresponsible to call on veterans to give up another \$10.4 billion in benefits this year. America's veterans have already given enough.

I cannot and I will not support this anti-veteran budget being proposed by the Committee on the Budget. I strongly urge the Members of the House to reject House Concurrent Resolution 284.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 seconds.

Mr. Chairman, I would point out that the program that the gentleman was referring to was recommended by the President and endorsed by this side of the aisle.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to straighten out the record. The highway bill visits a \$10 billion hit on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. It extinguishes benefits for smoking-related illnesses that the general counsel's office had announced were the rights of veterans, if they were service-connected. The highway bill takes away that right.

This bill still requires the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to yield another \$10 billion in reconciliation, give up another \$10 billion. What the President recommended, that is, the extinguishment of those benefits, has already been done in the highway bill. Yet, this bill comes back and hits again for another \$10 billion in veterans' benefits. It is a fact. It requires reconciliation of \$10 billion in savings in veterans' benefits. After they have already paid once, they have to pay again.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I have to hand it to some of our friends on the other side of the aisle. They are really something. They give their poll-driven speeches, they bring clichés and mantras to the floor. Regardless of subject or regardless of content, they utter them with the alacrity that we expect from political slogans in a campaign season.

Their campaign slogans are what passes for thought at 11 o'clock at night in this place, I guess. Then they produce budgets which have virtually nothing whatsoever to do with the rhetoric that they have just expounded.

They pretend they are bringing a 1 percent cut in the budget in discretionary spending to this floor, when in fact, in real dollar terms over the life of this budget resolution we are talking about at least a 18 percent across-the-board cut, and by the time we apply it only to the programs that they expect to cut, we are, as the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has told us, really talking about at least a 30 percent cut. So get off this 1 percent baloney. That is exactly what it is, it is baloney. It is a packaging gimmick that has nothing whatsoever to do with what happens to real, live people under the budget.

I would also suggest that, again, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EVANS) is absolutely right when he lays out that this budget has a double cut on veterans. It doubles the reduction in vet-

erans' health care benefits that were mandated in the highway bill. For anyone to pretend otherwise in my view is to give hypocrisy a bad name.

I would simply say, there is a very good reason why the Republican leaders in the Senate have already labeled this budget unworkable and extreme. That is because it is. If it were not, we would have the Republicans in the Senate rushing to endorse it, rather than running away from it in their acute embarrassment.

Everyone knows that this is not a program designed to get through the Congress, it is designed to get the Republican Party through the night. They want to vote on this package. At least they want to debate it at 11 o'clock at night when nobody is watching, because they are so embarrassed by it they would not bring it to us in the light of day. That is because the numbers do not work. The numbers clobber real, live Americans.

This is not a 1 percent solution, this is a 35 percent hatchet job, so they can have a campaign slogan that once again involves their mantra of pretend that what they suggest is they are going to cut spending. But if we look at the Kasich budget, it does not cut anything this year. It saves all of the cuts until after the election, so they can package a tax cut before the election. That, too, is enough to give hypocrisy a bad name.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield six minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL), the ranking member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the ranking member of the Committee on the Budget for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, it is a little shocking how confused the majority is tonight, that they cannot even find speakers to speak up on this budget. I know that the Republican leadership told everyone they could go home because there would be no votes tonight. I know that they made it abundantly clear that there will be no opportunity to discuss the President's budget, or Democratic alternatives, so I would think they would have a lot of pride in the document that they have put together.

Why in God's name, in a document, in a budget that is so important, would we wait until midnight to bring it up before the American people? Why would Members do that? Is there any shame that they would have, with something that is this important, that they would want Members to hear, they would want people to hear, and that we should discuss these things?

I know this is an election year. I know tax cuts are popular. Why can we not talk about where the money comes from for the tax cut, who we have to hurt? If we have to hurt the veterans, stand up and say that they get enough. If the cuts are coming from education,

and I think that the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), he said the used-to-be days of the Roosevelt days, the days of the Depression, where we needed help, we needed Social Security, we needed pension funds, we needed Medicaid, we needed Medicare, we needed aid for education, but we do not need that now. Ronald Reagan brought us a surplus, or was it Bush? I forgot the rhetoric on the other side. Whatever it is, we got this surplus, so now we have to talk about cuts.

Democrats want to talk about tax cuts, too. The only difference between us and these rascals is that we like to tell the Members where they come from, and they like to say they will tell us in 5 years.

If Members really do not believe that the Federal Government should be involved in educating our young people, providing health care for our kids, for older people, day care for mothers who have to work, why do they not stand up in the daytime and say it?

But no, they just cover things, saying, in the bye and bye we will tell you what we are going to do. It is shameful to have a document like this, with no alternatives allowed, restricting the debate that we have on the floor, and tell us that we can debate it at midnight. I said midnight, and someone says it is not midnight yet, and they look at their watches. That is no way to treat a budget that is going to really affect the lives of Americans.

I know, with the coupon clippers, it just does not make any difference, but not all of America is going through the good times. Some want their kids to get an education, to get a decent job, to be productive, and they need the Federal Government there. Some people do not believe that the Social Security fund is going to be there for them, but they did not discuss that. No, those are the olden days, the Roosevelt days. Everyone can take care of themselves without government today.

Thank God they have done one thing. No one has to say that all of the Members of Congress are alike, that there is no difference between a Republican and a Democrat. I will tell the Members this, before this is over, a lot of Republicans are going to wake up, when the American people see what they are trying to sneak through in the middle of night on them. When they do, they will be calling on Members before November to ask them to stand up and be counted, and say, yes, we want a tax cut, but you owe it to us to say what you have to cut in order to give this to us.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANGEL. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I applaud the ranking member for his eloquent statement. I want to be very specific, I

say to the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL), on what the Republicans are going to do regarding welfare reform.

Any Republican who votes for this budget is voting to undercut welfare reform of 2 years ago. They had \$10 billion in cuts in Medicare. They grew nervous, so what did they do? Last night they take \$10 billion, instead, out of Function 600.

The heart of that is TANF. They are going to say to us on the Committee on Ways and Means, cut Function 600, and therefore, cut welfare reform, TANF, by 10. It is going to take \$20 billion.

This is what State legislators say about this: "This budget would disproportionately cut State programs, and abrogates a fundamental agreement reached among State legislators, Governors, and Congress in 1996 regarding welfare reform."

If Members adopt the resolution, "It will prove that the States cannot trust Congress," i.e., you, "to abide by its word."

□ 2345

Here is what the governors have to say: "Your budget resolution is a serious violation of the welfare agreement reached in 1996, and would erode the Federal-State partnership and the future success of welfare reform."

And they go on to say, "We urge you in the strongest possible terms to uphold the historic welfare agreement reached in 1996, and reject any cuts in TANF, Medicaid or other welfare-related programs as part of the budget resolution." Signed Tom Carper, John Engler, Tommy Thompson, Tom Ridge.

Any Republican from Michigan, from Wisconsin, from Pennsylvania, who votes for this is going to be voting to undercut welfare reform. We are telling the majority this at midnight, and we are going to tell them this tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH), who can address the entire Nation, even those in California where it is 15 of 9:00.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, what is disconcerting is that I think that side of the aisle, I think the Democrats after experiencing success 2 years ago in demagoguing what the Republicans were doing in trying to slow down the growth of the budget, when they realized some success at the polls suggesting that Republicans were taking health care away from the elderly for tax cuts for the rich and taking food out of the mouths of children for tax cuts for the rich, that demagoguery resulted in some Americans believing it.

I think most Americans are now realizing that government is growing much faster than it should and the United States Congress, along with the President, is taking more and more money out of those taxpayers' pockets.

Let me show the chart of what is happening in spending of the Federal Government in the 10 years from 1994 to 2003. In the first five bars of this chart representing the last 5 years of spending, it is going to be a \$7.8 trillion expenditure over those 5 years. The last five bars of the chart representing what is in this budget is \$9.1 trillion, going from \$7.8 trillion to \$9.1 trillion. And just imagine for a moment this budget that we are having grows faster than inflation, yet what we are seeing is the other side of the aisle saying it is not growing fast enough.

So imagine what would happen in the future if we projected this line out for the next 10, 20, 30 years, and imagine how much money is coming out of the pockets of the American taxpayer if we continue to expand Federal Government almost twice as fast as inflation. That is what we do here.

1994, we have a budget of \$1.4 trillion; 2003, we have a budget of \$1.9 trillion. If we followed the President's recommendation, the President's recommendation was that we have \$102 billion of tax increases, that we have \$27 billion of fee increases for a total of \$129 billion of fee and tax increases. So where would that have left us is with a much steeper rate of expenditures. And in the year 2003, in the year 2003 if the Democrats had their way with the President's budget, we would be spending \$67 billion more that year than we are in this particular budget.

Look, this budget goes up pretty steep; and if we project the next few years, one can see that it is going to go all the way to the ceiling. Does anybody here or in America think that this government, that this Congress, that this President cannot make government more efficient and save some of the money we are spending?

I just want to mention briefly Social Security. Social Security in this budget, we do not spend any of the surpluses. That could be as high as 60 or \$70 billion this year, could go up to 110, 115 billion next year. We do not spend that surplus. We are saving it for Social Security. This budget says from now on any money we borrow from the Social Security Trust Fund it is going to be in negotiable Treasury bills, not the blank IOUs that has been happening for the last 20 years.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, there are 150 job training programs scattered across 15 Federal agencies; 340 programs in housing, including 18 involving community development, 49 concerning public housing, 8 concerning the homeless and 103 that are enacted. There are 660 programs in education and training, spanning 39 Federal agencies, boards, and commissions.

It is interesting because would it not be a great thing if the people who had

the jobs had the power to train the people who needed the jobs, rather than having the job training occur from this town out to where we live?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Listen up, Democrats. Listen up, America.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, there are a lot of bureaucrats in America who do not know what the time zone is in Ohio, let alone what our job needs are.

When I say we should break the monopoly of the Federal Government, would it not make sense if that computer company or high-tech company that needed that employee that they would have the incentive to train me rather than me marching into a Federal building for job training that has no relation to the jobs located in my community?

Would it not make more sense that instead of dictating all the rules of the way we ought to run public housing in my district in Columbus, Ohio, that we ought to set the standards and the rules for the way in which we want to run public housing in our communities rather than dictate it from a bunch of people down here who do not even know what is going on out in my district?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, they are not dumb in Columbus, Ohio, or Jackson, Michigan.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, do you not think it is time that mothers and fathers have the power to be able to get their kids the best education they can possibly get and that most of the money ought to be put in the classroom?

Those are the kind of things that I think most Americans want. I think they want to be in charge. I think they want to be in control. I think they want to have their job training run at home. I think they want local control of education. I think they want public housing at the local level to reflect local values.

Now, that is the new way. The old way is we run it from here. We train a few people who really do not know what goes on in our community, then they tell us what to do. That makes some people happy, but it does not make most Americans happy. That is why we are winning.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, let me give some quick numbers. In the height of the Reagan years, the government was spending 23.3 percent of our GDP, our total economy. The bite of the government was 23 cents out of every dollar. Today it is 19.8 cents under Clinton, down 3.5 percentage points. That much decreased by.

As for discretionary spending, in 1993, when Clinton came to office, in outlays it was \$540 billion in 1993. In 1997, it was \$548 billion. In 4 to 5 years, it grew \$8 billion. I think that answers abun-

dantly the effort, the argument that was just made.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. RIVERS).

Ms. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, there are two issues I want to raise. I want to talk a little bit about the so-called 1 percent solution, but before I do that I want to speak to the issue that was just raised about decisions being made about eliminating programs.

It is interesting when we were in committee in the Committee on the Budget when we asked repeatedly for the specifics of the proposal, what was going to be cut, what was going to be changed, it was very clear that we were not going to get that information. The argument that was put forward was that we really want to leave this to the committee chairs to make those decisions.

Interestingly, tonight the committee chairman has a lot of arguments to make about programs that are not under his jurisdiction, about how many are too many. Now, why is that? Why could we not have some specificity about what we thought was going to be cut and what was bad in committee, but now we have arguments?

Mr. Chairman, if in fact there are far too many training programs, far too many housing programs, far too many programs in general, why have the majority's appropriation people not come forward with those cuts in the 4 years that they have been controlling the procedure? Why did we have to wait until tonight for the chairman of the Committee on Budget to say in fact that the appropriation chairs have been making all of these bad decisions over the last few years? I do not understand.

Now, I want to talk about the 1 percent solution, so-called. It was just said all these things that the public wants, all the things that families want. I can tell my colleagues what families do not want. They do not want to be misled, and the 1 percent proposal is being put out there to lead people into believing that in fact these cuts are going to be spread across all programs and that the burden will be an easy one for all to bear. That, of course, is not true.

When we look at facts, we find that all programs will not share this burden; and that, in fact, more than two-thirds of the budget will not be available to be a part of this reduction.

Let me go through what these are. These numbers are beyond the agreement that was made as part of the balanced budget agreement:

International affairs, beyond the balanced budget agreement, would be cut 21.2 percent. 21.2 percent in an increasingly perilous world. Natural resources and the environment, 8.5 percent. Commerce and housing credit, the chairman just made comments about that,

30.5 percent. That is Section 8 housing for low-income people.

Rural housing, FHA, the Patent Office and the Census Bureau also within this function, 30 percent. A third of every dollar spent in that function would be eliminated. Transportation, we just as a Congress affirmed overwhelmingly increased spending in transportation. This budget says 22.7 percent reduction. Community and regional development, 16.3 percent reduction. Not 1 percent, 16 percent.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) argued passionately for us to be responsive to the needs of our communities just a couple of hours ago. Apparently, this is not much of a concern to him.

12.1 percent, not 1 percent, 12.1 percent reduction in administration of justice. That is law enforcement. That is the judiciary. That is prisons. 12.1 percent. Not 1 percent.

Even education programs take a 4 percent hit. Now this is argued that it is a penny on the dollar. Something that families can understand. Let us put it in terms that families can understand. Let us say that our families decide we have to make a 10 percent cut in our spending. Seems reasonable. But then they sit down and look at their budget and say, well, we cannot stop paying our mortgage. We cannot do that. Cannot stop paying our child care cost because we are going to keep working. Cannot put aside our credit card debt or paying our health insurance. We do not want to cut our contributions to our children's college fund. Okay, we are going to make a 10 percent cut, and it is all going to come out of our grocery money.

It does not feel like 10 percent anymore when it is 1 percent of something you need. This is not a 1 percent cut. You know it, and the public will know it once the information gets out. And to say it is 1 percent and it does not hurt is not right.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT).

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Mr. Chairman, we are headed down the same road we were in 1995: Cut services for the elderly and the poor and give tax breaks to the rich.

Let me take one specific. When we went into the Committee on the Budget we said, give us the specifics. They would not. But if we look in the budget document they put out, there is \$10 billion in cuts in Medicare.

Now, we start talking about that. There is \$12 billion cuts in Medicaid. That is \$22 billion of the \$100 billion in tax cuts coming right out of health care. That is out of the same place that we took \$115 billion last year in Medicare and untold billions also out of Medicaid. So they are going right back to the same well.

Now they got nervous about that and last night about 9:30 or 10 o'clock up in the Committee on Rules they said, oh, my goodness, we better get this Medicare stuff out of here. Let us shift it all over into Medicaid or unspecified health care cuts.

□ 2400

What are the unspecified health care cuts? The children's plan we put in last year, \$16 billion, most of it has not been spent yet, and they are now going to cut \$10 billion out of the children's program that they will be on the campaign trail in about three months saying, "We did this great program for children." Meanwhile they are going to gut it with this particular proposal.

Why are they getting this money? Well, it is for the marriage tax penalty. I offered that amendment in the Committee on Ways and Means and in the Committee on the Budget and in the Committee on Rules, and every single one of those committees, every single Republican Member voted against it last year. I guess maybe a miracle has occurred or an epiphany, I do not know what it is.

The problem is, mine was a little tax cut for families below \$50,000 who really need the benefit. But if you are going to use \$100 billion in a tax cut for a marriage penalty, it is going to people above \$50,000, most of it above. It is a bad, bad budget.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 seconds to just say that only in Washington when you spend more do people call it a cut. That is the line that the gentleman from Washington is getting into. We are going to spend \$1.3 trillion on Medicare in the next five years. The last five years we spent about \$900 million.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes and 30 seconds to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. PORTMAN).

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Chairman, the last speaker said it is just like 1995. It is just like 1995. We have, again, on the other side folks saying we are cutting spending to give tax cuts to the rich. Neither is true.

The gentleman from Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT) may not like the idea of eliminating the marriage penalty but that is something that actually will benefit middle income families, and he may not like the idea of not spending as much as we would otherwise would have spent, but that does not make it a cut.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) specifically talked about the Medicare numbers. Those numbers apply to the entire budget. We are talking about spending a little less than we would otherwise have spent. This is where we are.

Last year we all got together and we passed a balanced budget agreement to balance the budget over five years. The American people, through their hard

work and productivity, did it quicker than that, but there was a lot of pain, a lot of agony. We gave. The Democrats gave. The Clinton administration and the House Democrats and Senate Democrats gave, and we ended up with this common ground balanced budget agreement.

It is only natural that this year we Republicans would come back and we would say, okay, we gave a little, now we are going to get back to our fundamentals. We are going to roll up our sleeves and we are going to spend a little bit less than the \$9.1 trillion that was agreed to. We are going to spend 1 percent less, and we are going to give some of that back in terms of tax cuts because we are actually spending, as a percentage of GDP, more in taxes every year as Americans than we have historically in this country, so we have a relatively high tax burden right now even with the good economy.

It is also natural Democrats would do the same thing. They are back this year saying they want to go beyond the balanced budget agreement that was agreed to last year also, but they are saying that they want to spend more. The President's budget, 85 new spending programs, 39 new entitlement programs, over \$150 billion in new spending, over \$150 billion in new spending over five years. \$129 billion in tax increases over 5 years is how it is paid for, largely, again, from the same President who in 1993 put in place the largest tax increase in our history.

So that is where we are, and I would just say I would cast my lot with those who believe we can do more. I would cast my lot with those who think we can do a little better. Yes, the chairman gave some examples earlier in response to the gentlewoman from Michigan. She criticized the chairman.

Today on a partisan basis in this House we voted to reform the SSDI program. We improved the program and we saved \$40 million to the American taxpayer. There is darn good example. Yes, we can streamline. Yes, we can consolidate. Yes, it takes rolling up our sleeves and looking anew and thinking outside the box on some of these Federal programs, but sure we can do that. Instead of spending \$9.1 trillion, we are going to spend \$9 trillion over the next five years. And remember, we only spent \$7.8 trillion over the last five years.

So I thank the chairman for putting together this good budget, and the Committee on the Budget. I wholeheartedly endorse it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 30 seconds to remind him that the President's budget, which he misconstrued, is not on the floor. Our resolution is. It does not increase spending. It is in complete sync with the balanced budget agreement and it calls for \$30 billion in tax relief paid for within the Tax Code itself.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Hawaii (Mrs. MINK).

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Chairman, my constituents are listening to this debate, even though it is midnight, because it is only 6:00 p.m. in Hawaii. I thank the majority for the courtesy extended to my constituents.

I think the whole matter of our legislating has at its kernel the idea of conveying confidence to the American people that they should be able to rely on the promises and the agreements that we make with respect to the programs that we enact.

Less than 2 years ago this Congress enacted the welfare reform bill, and it was hard fought. And one of the ingredients in that welfare reform bill was an agreement that was struck with the governors. There was a commitment made to the States that there would be even funding over the length of that program, 5, 6 years. And the governors went and made this agreement with the Congress in the assumption that we would keep our word, that we would not go back on this deal.

Sometime around 9:00 last night the majority decided that they would breach that agreement that was struck with the governors. Today we have a letter sent to us by the National Governors Association, signed by 10 governors, expressing their dismay that the Congress is being asked by the Republican Party to renege on their agreement.

What they did in the Committee on Rules was to take \$10 billion additional from the TANF program, the welfare program that we just enacted. They said cut the function 600 program, which is the income security item. But if we look in it, all that is vulnerable for a cut, for a raid, is the TANF program, and it completely decimates the agreement that the governors are relying on. So they have asked this Congress to reject this resolution, and so have the National Conference of the State Legislators.

I ask my colleagues here tonight, is our word good or are we going to go back on it?

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong opposition to the Kasich Budget Resolution, which sets this nation on a budgetary course that will end in disaster.

At a time when our nation is experiencing its greatest economic boom in decades we should be asking ourselves what can we do for the people of America, not what can we take away from them. This budget resolution proposes to take away \$100 billion from programs critical to the overall health and well-being of this nation. The American public will not stand for cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, health care, health research, and social services. Even programs that have strong bipartisan support, like Head Start and WIC will not receive enough funds to maintain current services under this budget.

Hasn't the Majority learned by now that we can balance the budget, and still address the

most pressing needs of our people. The budget before us today is a shift back to the draconian cuts and radical proposals that forced a budget showdown and government shut down.

Bringing forth this proposal, which even Senate Republicans agree is too radical, only proves that the Majority can't keep a promise. They can't keep the promise made in last year's balanced budget agreement and they can't keep the promise made in the 1996 welfare law.

I am outraged to find out that at the last minute in the wee hours of the night this resolution was changed to cut \$10 billion of the welfare program (TANF). This cut is on top of cuts already in the bill which totally eliminate programs to move families from welfare-to-work.

Some may argue that the \$10 billion is not specified to come from TANF, but it is a cut required in the Income Security Function which includes TANF. Well, let's look at some of the other programs in the Income Security Function that would have to take the cut—unemployment compensation, SSI, Child Support, Child Care, the EITC, and Foster Care. I don't think anyone is willing to take a \$10 billion chunk out of any of these programs.

Certainly, states cannot live up to the mandate of moving welfare recipients to work, if their funds are cut by \$10 billion.

During the debate on welfare reform in 1995 and 1996, the Majority constantly preached the ethic of work and championed the idea that welfare mothers must work. Now, they seek to eliminate the very programs that help these disadvantaged women find jobs.

The Resolution eliminates \$1.5 billion dedicated for welfare-to-work programs. The elimination of these funds would result in direct loss of funds to 44 states and jeopardize the job training and job placement of 300,000 welfare recipients.

And with an additional cut of \$10 billion from the TANF program, there will be virtually no federal training funds dedicated to moving families from welfare to work. The 1996 Welfare law becomes an unfunded mandate under this Resolution.

The Resolution compounds the problem by eliminating the employment and training money under the Food Stamp program. The 1996 welfare reform law limits Food Stamp benefits to able-bodied adults with no children between the ages of 18 to 50 to 3 months unless they are working or in a training program. The Resolution eliminates funding states use to help train and employ these individuals so that they can achieve self-sufficiency or meet the work rule under the Food Stamp program.

This Budget Resolution unfairly targets the most vulnerable in our nation—families that are struggling to make ends meet and striving for self-sufficiency.

The Democrats in great contrast seek to lift up those who are struggling in our society, by helping to ease their every day burdens. Nothing signifies this more than the huge investment the Clinton Administration and the Democrats have proposed in expanding the availability of child care in this nation.

Currently the federal government spends about \$9.4 billion (FY 1998) on child care programs including after-school and child care nutrition programs. We propose the Presi-

dent's child care initiative unveiled earlier this year, which adds a \$16 billion investment over five years in child care and early childhood education programs. This includes the expansion of existing programs such as the Child Care Development Block Grant and Head Start.

In 1996, we passed a Welfare Law which requires welfare mothers to work, but it fell short \$1.4 billion short of the funding necessary to provide child care for those welfare parents. The President's child care initiative would allow us to take care of the working welfare families as well as low-income working parents who are not receiving public assistance.

It also includes \$3 billion over five years for a new Early Learning Fund to improve the quality and safety of services to children ages 0 to 5 years. In the past year we have all heard about the ground breaking research which revealed the significant capacity for learning in the first three years of a child's life. Assuring quality child care and early childhood education is critical in those early learning years and important to the future success of our nation's children, and indeed our entire nation.

\$800 million over five years would go to expand after-school programs. This funding would support an estimated 4,000 programs serving half a million children. After-school activities are a way to keep children in a safe place, to provide additional learning experiences and tutoring and most importantly, it keep children off the streets and involved in productive activities rather than destructive or delinquent activities.

Unfortunately, the Majority not only rejects these much needed child care programs, but freezes the current child care programs so that they won't be able to keep up with inflation. The Child Care Development Block grant will lose \$107 million over five years, the Head Start program will lose \$536 million over five years, and the Title X Social Service Block Grant will be cut by \$3.1 billion.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose this Resolution also because it is clearly an attempt to undermine federal education programs in the Budget Resolution. The Chairman's May 12th draft clearly stated the intention to turn the Title I program for disadvantaged students into a voucher program, and to block grant other education programs.

During the Committee debate, the Chairman was unclear about his intentions but made specific references to block granting Title I and other education programs.

Whether it is a block grant proposal or a voucher proposal, it is clear that the Majority is once again attacking federal education programs that send billions of dollars to our states and local school districts.

I am deeply concerned about any effort which would virtually eliminate the Title I program and replace it with a voucher program. Title I was enacted in 1965 to assist low income communities in educating their most educationally disadvantaged. It was an attempt to equalize educational opportunities for our most needy students.

Based on current funding levels, individual Title I vouchers are likely to be about \$700 dollars per student, hardly enough for parents

to pay for private education as intended by the proponents of this proposal.

Title I dollars helps to raise the individual achievement of disadvantaged children, but also, it helps the overall educational opportunities within the school. Taking the dollars away from these most needy schools through a voucher system, will do nothing but leave the school with less resources and at a greater disadvantage.

Criticism about Title I during Committee debate focused on the ineffectiveness of some programs and how the federal bureaucracy was to blame. This criticism is really not about the federal government, but a complaint against state and local school districts which manages the Title I program. Only .1% of the Title I funds stay at the federal level, for evaluation and administrative costs. That means that states and locals have responsibility for 99.9% of the money. So when the Republicans complain about how that money is being spent, they are criticizing the states and local school districts.

What is ironic is that Majority's criticizes the state and local management of the Title I, yet at the same time they propose to block grant even more federal programs, with less accountability to the very same people they contend are running ineffective Title I programs.

While there is always room for improvement, the reality is that in the vast majority of school districts throughout the nation Title I is making a significant difference in the lives of disadvantaged students. To eliminate the Title I program as we know it today is a terrible mistake that would have serious consequences in many low-income communities throughout the country.

In my estimation, education should be this nation's highest priority, and the Majority's budget, block grant and voucher programs fall far short of what is necessary to improve education in this nation.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I need to mention the elimination of the Native Hawaiian Health Care program, assumed under this budget. It is clear that the Majority lacks the understanding of special relationship between the Native Hawaiian people and the federal government, much like the relationships forged between Native American Tribes and the federal government. Programs like the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act were specifically enacted to acknowledge the federal government's responsibility and relationship with the Native Hawaiian people. Elimination of this program would mean the end of valuable services which address the significant health needs of the Native Hawaiian population and it abrogates the federal government's responsibility to assist in improving the overall well-being of the Native Hawaiian people.

Mr. Chairman, this budget fails the American people. It fails to set forth a vision for our nation worthy of our economic prosperity; it fails to invest in our most precious resource—our human capital; and it fails to address the needs of the most disadvantaged in our society.

I urge my colleagues to reject this radical budget, which turns away from the balance budget agreement and the welfare law of 1996. We can do better, we must do better.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the budget resolution we are debating here tonight of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH). This is my sixth year on the Committee on the Budget. The first 2 years was as we were part of the minority and then 4 years as majority now.

In our budget, in each of the budgets we have had the same philosophy of reducing the size and scope of the government and shifting power, money and responsibility back to the States, and this budget continues that philosophy. It shows the real difference with the Democratic philosophy.

Back in 1993 when the President proposed a budget to increase taxes, the largest tax increase ever, more spending programs and more new programs that we had to take responsibility for here in Washington, the Republicans had cut spending first, and we showed how we really can reduce the size and scope of the government. And the voters back in 1994 said, "That is what we want to do," and so starting in 1995 we have had great success in moving this country to fiscal responsibility.

This year we are going to have the first balanced budget since 1969, a tremendous accomplishment. We are going to have a surplus for the first time. One of the most important things is the issue that we have reformed entitlements. The previous speaker talked about, oh, my gosh, we are hurting the entitlement programs. We have had major change in the welfare program.

Let me tell my colleagues what happened. Welfare case loads have declined by 30 percent nationally since 1994. In 1997, States spent only 72 percent of their available welfare funds because case loads have declined and more welfare families have entered the work force.

Six States have turned down welfare-to-work grants enacted by the balanced budget agreement because they did not need the money and they objected to the red tape required to get the grants. Welfare reform has worked. It is saving money. But more important, it is helping those people that have been trapped in a cycle of poverty.

On the discretionary spending side we have had great success. While defense spending has been kept fairly level for the past decade, the Democrats kept increasing discretionary nondefense spending, the domestic spending side.

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Our first time in control of the House of Representatives in 1995 and 1996, we actually had in real dollars a reduction in domestic discretionary spending. That was our promise to the American people. We got rid of 300 programs in

the Federal Government. But then important programs that we thought were important, for example, like National Institutes of Health, have gotten larger increases under a Republican Congress than they received under the Democratic Congress. In fact, last year they got a 7.1 percent increase whereas President Clinton only asked for a 2.6 percent increase.

We have established priorities, programs that are important, like biomedical research, and we have said we do not need some programs and we have cut out many programs. This budget that we have this year is a continuation of that philosophy and a clear contrast with what President Clinton has proposed. President Clinton's budget proposed 85 new programs, \$150 billion in more spending over 5 years, \$129 billion in more taxes. What does this budget have? No new spending programs, \$100 billion of tax cuts, and just a 1 percent cut in spending. Support this budget.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY).

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Chairman, I find it so curious that the majority refuses to discuss their budget tonight and instead want to discuss a budget that is not even on the floor. I have been on the Committee on the Budget for 6 years and I have never seen such a fiasco in all my life. Usually the budget is when a party lays forward their plan, their vision of government.

What have you done tonight? Brought this to the floor after midnight, not that the press who is not here, the American people who are long asleep are missing much, because you have not had the integrity, the courage, to tell the American people what your plan is. You do not specify the cuts. You get up here and make lofty language, and you do not specify the cuts. What is more, this plan changes all the time.

Take Social Security, what I think is the most vital function of government. In the Committee on the Budget we debated, one of the highlights of the chairman's bill, a plan to take all the surplus out of Social Security, embark on a new venture, no more Social Security, a new venture of private accounts. We debated. Every one of you voted for it. Your colleagues would not stand for it apparently.

You go to the Committee on Rules, the bill comes out, and there is no aspect of that dimension of this budget. Where did it go? We have all this debate, you are going to end Social Security as we know it and it comes out of the Committee on Rules and we are just supposed to be left with an "oops, never mind"? This is ridiculous.

I would feel comfortable if Social Security was secure. But of course it is not secure. Because you take revenue out of the Federal Government without

telling us how we are going to match in spending reductions.

You have done this before. This was a David Stockman technique in the early 1980s. It produced deficits then. Now it will produce spending the surplus. That is why the Washington Post called this a triple fraud, and I quote, an election year tax cut on the strength of unlikely spending cuts to be named later, all the while preaching fiscal responsibility.

What happens when you do not come up with the spending cuts you are so afraid to talk about tonight is that they do not get made, and this surplus that we so need to reform Social Security is dissipated. And you do not even lay out the plan to the American people.

This budget is a failure. One of the things about the chairman, like him or not, like his ideas, do not like his ideas, he would always tell you where he was going, he would always be square with you about the details. This plan tonight is such a disappointment in that respect.

You fail to lay out the details of your plan. You fail to advance a budget that makes sense. Most important to me, you fail to fundamentally protect the Social Security surplus until we can come up with a comprehensive overhaul plan for Social Security. You have failed with this budget, and that is why I think there is a fighting chance your own colleagues will reject it with us in the vote tomorrow.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. SUNUNU).

Mr. SUNUNU. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Connecticut for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I will begin by emphasizing that the colleague who just spoke was correct in one regard, and that is a simple point that the President's budget is not on the floor tonight. It is not on the floor tonight because nobody on the other side had the guts to bring it to the floor tonight. Even the ranking member of the Committee on the Budget refused to bring the President's budget to the floor, because it raises taxes \$130 billion, it raises spending \$150 billion, it creates new entitlements, it creates new programs, and not a single Member on the other side was willing to bring that sham to the floor. Instead we are talking about a Republican budget plan.

Perhaps the problem is that it is too simple a vision for some on the other side to understand. It does three principal things. It pays down public debt. It reduces the amount of debt held by the public by taking surpluses and using it for that important cause. It shrinks the rate of growth of government by 1 percent. And it uses that controlling the size of government to eliminate the marriage penalty.

I do not know what the other side is opposed to. Maybe they are opposed to

paying down the debt. Maybe they are opposed to eliminating the marriage penalty. And we have heard that they certainly may be opposed to reducing the size of the government from \$9.1 trillion to \$9 trillion. Maybe \$9 trillion just is not enough. Maybe they need \$10 trillion or \$11 or \$12 or \$15 trillion. But the fact is we have spent \$7.8 trillion over the past 5 years and under this budget we spend \$9 trillion.

Government will grow at greater than the rate of inflation. Maybe it is not enough for some on this side of the aisle. Maybe government has to get bigger and bigger and bigger. But what we are trying to do is just control the rate of growth. Three goals, pay down the debt, control the rate of growth of government, and eliminate the marriage penalty.

Paying down debt, why is it important? It is important because it brings down interest rates. We reduce public borrowing, we let the private sector borrow more and we reduce interest rates, lower cost of home mortgages, lower student loans, lower cost of auto loans.

We heard what happened with the President's tax increase in 1993. Interest rates shot up. Over the next year they shot up 2 percent, from 6 percent all the way up to 8 percent. That is tens of thousands of dollars more in home mortgage costs, thousands of dollars more in student loan costs or automobile loan costs, right out of the pockets of the American consumer.

Today interest rates are low. If we continue to pay down debt with these surpluses, they will go even lower; 1, 2 percent less if you talk to Alan Greenspan. Paying down debt keeps money in the pockets of the average American family.

Second, controlling the rate of growth of government. We talked about that. From \$9.1 trillion to \$9 trillion. Earlier this evening, much earlier this evening, not at midnight or 11 o'clock or 10 o'clock, but around 9 o'clock or 8 o'clock, we saw a nine foot belt out here and said, can we not just take a nine foot belt and bring it in one notch, from \$9.1 trillion to \$9 trillion. We can reduce the rate of growth.

And finally, eliminate the marriage penalty. Bring tax relief to the American people, more money in their pockets, take a little bit of power away from Washington, and give it back to the American people. I think any time we take power away from Washington and give it back to Americans, we are doing right thing. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Chairman, in last year's balanced budget, we had a bipartisan agreement to protect the environment. But this year the Republicans in their budget proposal throw

away that commitment, out the window.

The Democratic alternative, however, does restore the vital environmental funding that we know as Members of Congress we have a responsibility to fund. We must fund projects to ensure clean air and clean water, to ensure that our public lands are preserved, and that our toxic and hazardous sites are cleaned up.

The Democratic budget provides funding for water quality improvement, because 40 percent of our Nation's waterways are too polluted to swim or fish in. The Democratic budget provides assistance to States and communities to reduce non-point pollution, clean up streams and improve coastal water quality.

The Democratic budget provides vital funding for our Superfund cleanup sites. One in four children under the age of 12 live within four miles of a Superfund site. It is time, time for Republicans to join us and clean up the toxic waste dumps near our schools, our parks and in our neighborhoods.

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The Democratic budget includes funding to enhance national parks, national forests and other public lands.

The final and crucial environmental area addressed by the Democratic budget provides funding for water infrastructure improvements. These improvements give localities greater ability for compliance and construction of much needed wastewater and other facilities.

Mr. Chairman, as we consider this budget resolution this year, we must also protect our environment. But as usual, when it comes to our children's future, the Republican budget is way off course. By supporting the Democratic alternative we create a budget that moves this country forward without leaving our environment and our children behind. I urge my colleagues to support the Democratic budget alternative.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD).

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Republican resolution and in support of the Democratic alternative. The Republican plan unravels last year's budget deal by cutting over \$100 billion from important programs like education, veterans' benefits and crime prevention. The Democratic alternative, however, builds on the balanced budget agreement, and it invests in the future of our country and in the priorities of our people by protecting Social Security, allowing for a reasonable tax cut to end the marriage penalty, and by making a real investment in the education of our children.

An example of this commitment to education is the school construction

initiative in the Democratic budget. This initiative is critical because our schools are in worse shape today than any part of our nation's infrastructure. As a result, millions of our children in urban, suburban and rural districts are forced to attend schools in desperate need of repair. Also, thousands of our schools are tragically overcrowded. It is estimated that we need to build 6,000 new schools over the next 10 years just to maintain our current class size.

These appalling conditions are not merely annoyances and inconveniences, they are barriers to learning, and sadly these conditions serve to diminish the self-esteem of children who must attend these run-down and overcrowded schools.

Mr. Chairman, the Republican budget ignores this crisis. The Democratic budget, however, creates a tax credit to help States and localities build new schools and to make desperately needed repairs. The Democratic plan sends a clear message that the education of our children is a top priority vital to our Nation's future.

I urge my colleagues to reject the failed Republican budget and to vote in favor of the Democratic alternative.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA).

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague for yielding this time to me.

For the last 18 months we have had the opportunity to go around America and we have had hearings in 17 States about what works and what does not work in education. We have also had an opportunity to take a look at education and what education means in Washington, and we have found that in Washington education means hundreds of programs, and we say "Hallelujah, at least they're all in the Education Department," and it is kind of like, no, they are spread over 39 agencies, and we say, "Well, at least they're effective and efficient which means that we're going to get those dollars down to kids," and it is like, no, that is not true either because for every time we take a dollar out of a local community and send it to Washington, we only get about 65 cents back to a child and back to a classroom.

That is not very good, and that is not helping kids.

Going around and spending time at local school districts, we find out what has worked. What works is when we leave control at the local level, when we leave the money at a local school district and do not take it to Washington and siphon off 30 to 40 cents, when we leave control at the local level, and we do not get people at the local level begging for money from Washington and getting the money back with a whole lot of rules and regulations. What works is when we focus on basic academics, and what works is when we empower parents.

Now is not the time to come up with a whole new range of education programs in Washington that move control away from parents and away from the local level and move it to Washington.

What is the mantra in Washington? Where have we gotten to today?

Where we are moving to in Washington is we say, "We want to build your schools, we want to put in your technology, we want to hire your teachers, we want to determine your class size, we want to teach your kids about sex, we want to teach your kids about drugs, we want to feed them breakfast, we want to feed them lunch, we want to feed them snacks, and other than that they are your local schools."

Let us keep control with parents.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. RIVERS).

Ms. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, I will take just a brief amount of time to point out that in the committee meeting I did put forward a proposal to do what several of the Republicans on the committee as well as other members of the party have suggested, which is to send back 40 percent of all special education dollars to the States, to local school districts. Made a very strong case for that.

The majority declined to do that, and instead substituted for my motion a motion to make it a sense of the Congress. So the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA), along with others on the committee who were given an opportunity to make a very clear and concrete statement to send dollars back to schools, declined to do so.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Chairman, it is really kind of a joke that we are here at 12:30 in the morning Eastern time debating this. We heard about families sitting around the dining room table and what they could end up cutting. None of the traditional families in my district in Texas, I believe, are sitting around the dining room table at this time, and I doubt they are in Columbus, Ohio either, but I do not know a lot about Columbus. And if this is the best my colleague can do, he probably ought to try and keep the job he has got.

But, Mr. Chairman, this is not a blueprint for the Nation's fiscal policy. This is a testament to the continuing inability of the Republicans to govern the House.

The truth be known, the budget process has already been hijacked by the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. Last week, 2 weeks ago, we were racing to get out of here so we could pass a highway bill that everybody could pave up their State, that busted the budget by \$22 billion. We

forgot all about the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. Democrats and Republicans were in a real big hurry to spend as much money as possible. We gutted the veterans' program by somewhere between \$11 billion to \$17 billion, depending on what committee and whose numbers are used, and then we found out that it was not done properly. So we race back in here quietly on Tuesday, and when no one was looking we passed by voice vote a correction of that.

That is what Republican control has been all about. They stuck it to the veterans, they stuck it to the budget process, and now at 12:30 in the morning we are going to debate this grand budget resolution. They cannot even get the senior team down here to debate the bill.

□ 0030

This is just ridiculous. And then you think that after the fact we are going to have to, under the Balanced Budget Act of 1997, have to continue to make reductions in discretionary spending, both defense and non-defense, we are going to continue to make reductions in that, and then you want to go in and make another \$100 billion of reduction, \$50 billion approximately in non-defense. And you talk about waste. You could not find one dollar, not one dollar of waste in defense. What happened to those ashtrays and the toilet seats that we were paying all that extra money for?

But you really think those cuts are going to be made, and then you are going to go spend the money on the tax cut. What you are going to do is end up spending the surplus, just like you are trying to do with the transportation bill, and running up the debt.

You know what that is going to do in the end? It is going to make the Social Security problem worse, and then you are going to come around and try to privatize it and do away with the safety net. That is why you are doing it at 12:30 in the morning, because you know this is a joke.

Mr. Chairman, the Republican budget resolution is both hollow and meaningless because it doesn't recognize reality and responsible fiscal policy. Rather than provide a blueprint for the nation's fiscal policy, this is a testament to the continuing inability of the Republicans to govern. Truth be known, the budget process has already been hijacked by the Appropriations Committee and the Transportation Committee.

This budget resolution is a sham. It proposes \$100 billion in budget cuts beyond the Balanced Budget Agreement we approved last July, but it doesn't tell us where to cut and postpones the tough choices for a future Congress. It ignores the reality that Congress just approved a highway bill that exceeds the budget agreement by \$22 billion. And in its latest incarnation, it plays games with the projected budget surplus to hide the fact that the majority would rather use the surplus to pay

for tax cuts than to buy down the \$5.4 trillion federal debt and strengthen Social Security.

Not only does this budget resolution renege on the good faith, bipartisan agreement reached last year to balance the budget, but it goes even further by destroying our hard work to achieve that agreement. Last year's hard work has given way to magic asterisks, false hopes, and irresponsible promises. It's only now that we are finally balancing the budget and escaping the pit of red ink that has quadrupled our national debt and made interest payments the third largest federal program. It's the height of irresponsibility that the majority would now propose that we go down that road again.

The "one percent plan" is a pithy slogan, but it's the biggest sham of all. The truth is that this budget doesn't cut just one percent. By exempting three-fifths of the budget and failing to take the highway bill into account, this bill would actually cut some domestic programs by as much as 19 percent below a freeze. That means deep cuts in education, social services, environmental protection and other vital programs, and leave our nation unable to increase vital investments such as medical research. Despite what the majority may say today, it also means draconian cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, and even in the newly enacted Children's Health Insurance Program that we worked so hard to create just nine months ago.

Most prominently, the budget resolution neglects that fact that we have a \$5.4 trillion debt and that we spend \$250 billion on interest annually. That's about three percent of GDP. By sticking to the 1998 Balanced Budget Agreement, interest payments on the debt would fall to just one and a half percent of GDP by 2008. Paying down the debt yields ample rewards because interest payments on the debt would fall. This would free up private and public investment. Long term interest rates would fall further as well. Then, a responsible tax cut or even greater investment in education, children's health care, and research become possible. These productive investments help keep our economy growing.

If we abandon fiscal discipline, by the early 2040s, CBO projects that federal debt will exceed 100 percent of GDP. That is nearly twice as high as the current ratio and is a level previously reached only at the end of World War II.

Included in the \$5.4 trillion debt is \$600 billion of Treasury bonds owned by the Social Security trust fund that will have to be retired after 2013. The budget resolution should give serious attention to paying down the debt to reduce interest and principal costs to ultimately strengthen the Social Security Trust Fund. Raiding the surplus to pay for tax cuts will put us in worse shape. In fact, if only half the surplus was spent, interest payments would rise \$12 billion over the next five years. According to the CBO, spending the annual surplus would cause the fiscal gap, which is the size of the permanent tax increase or spending cut needed to keep the ratio of federal debt to GDP at or below its current level, to increase to 2.3 percent of GDP from 1.6 percent of GDP. This translates into an estimated \$200 billion tax increase or spending cut.

Additionally, some on the other side of the aisle might argue that the surplus is scandalous because it's expected to grow to \$1.34 trillion over the next five years and that money should be returned to the American people in the form of a tax cut. But, that money is essentially today's profit that needs to repay yesterday's debt. No business would carry such a debt much less make no effort to repay it. Enacting a tax cut this year would like a business that carries significant debt, has a great year, and then pays out its new profits in dividends instead of paying down its debt. Companies know that paying down debt is the only way to increase its value in the long term, which would make more money for investors. So both tax cuts and personal savings accounts are irresponsible before paying down the debt.

So before we start tinkering with half-baked notions of privatization, it is important that we begin a debate on Social Security with a clear understanding of what Social Security is and why it was created before we begin proposing radical solutions. And we must not confuse problems while trying to solve them.

First and foremost, we must remember that Social Security is a safety net below which no American will fall. It is a retirement security program, it is a disability insurance program and it is a survivor insurance program. It is not a 401(k) or an individual retirement account. It is also an income transfer program whereby higher income workers support lower and moderate income workers through the establishment of the safety net. Without the cross-subsidy the net is pierced. Any reform must not destroy the safety net, or it will destroy the essence of the program.

If we squander the surplus without beginning to retire the national debt to a more manageable level, in the long run, we may have to borrow more to pay off bonds as they come due, including the Social Security, and we will be shortchanging the American people. Without maintaining a course of fiscal discipline, the Congress' hard work since 1990 will be compromised. Federal budget surpluses will be short lived and we will return to deficit spending. Given the impending retirement boom and the economic and political uncertainty brought on by the Asian economic debacle, that's not a direction we want to move.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. EHRLICH).

Mr. EHRLICH. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

I guess there are some first-teamers still around here. I see some first-teamers behind me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Kasich budget. There are four relatively easy planks that the American public does understand. Pay down debt. Forty percent of public debt is Social Security debt. You pay that down, you save Social Security. It makes sense. You shrink the government by 1 percent, and you relieve families of the marriage penalty.

Under the balanced budget agreement, and that is really the crux of the problem here tonight, some viewed it as a ceiling, some viewed it as a floor.

It is not a ceiling. We can do better. We get paid to do better. The American public expects us to do better.

Last year was not a stopping point. They still feel overtaxed, feel that the government does too much in this country. \$9.1 trillion to \$9 trillion. That is not a whole lot to ask in most cities in this country. Maybe not in this town.

We talk about marriage tax relief. We had an interesting comment from the other side earlier on. The rhetorical question was, where do the tax cuts come from? Where do the tax cuts come from?

Tax money is our money. We send it here, hopefully to be used appropriately, and we ask for some of it back. That is where the money comes from. We know where the money comes from, from the people who work.

Last January we saw the old Bill Clinton, the post-election-year Bill Clinton, the nanny state Bill Clinton came back. You heard the numbers, 85 new programs, \$150 billion in new spending, new tax increases, the whole nine yards.

What led to this? What do we hear tonight and every day on this floor? The politics of yes, because the politics of yes is real easy. The politics of no means leadership. It is not easy to say no. It is not easy to say maybe a cent from every Federal dollar over 5 years.

It is easy to get votes when you say yes, because the politics of yes is easy, and the politics of yes ruled this town for 40 years, and a bunch of us came here a couple of years ago to exhibit some leadership and say no for a change. And sometimes no is not pleasant and sometimes no leads to negative ads against you on TV, and that is the way it goes in the United States in the 1990s.

I rise in support of the Kasich budget for this reason: We should reject the politics of the old and the politics of yes, as the American people have done, and give the American family a break for a change, because they deserve it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to the proposed Republican budget resolution. This resolution is very similar to the very one we discussed last year, proposing spending cuts to pay for tax cuts. However, the difference in the last time and this time is we are not certain where they propose to cut the \$100 billion. We know it is supposed to be in domestic, but we do not know where. We only know they intend to cut \$55 billion from entitlement programs, including some \$10 billion from Medicare, until last night. Then that became too political. We said we do not want to be political, but

that became too political and risky to do.

Guess what you did? You decided to cut that from the most vulnerable people in America, the poorest of the poor. Yes, your Welfare Reform Act that you wanted to keep there, you reneged on your commitment to the States that you would provide welfare reform, but made sure that your objective had \$10 billion now that will be taken from there. \$12 billion from Medicaid. You are not fair to the poor, you are certainly not fair to seniors, and, in fact, you are really cruel to the most vulnerable people in the community.

Yes, this may sound like rhetoric, but it is the basic truth. You are also cruel to veterans. It is cruel that you would treat veterans, those who protect this country, in the way they have.

Mr. Chairman, I support fair cuts, and most Americans do. In the Spratt substitute that will be offered tomorrow, there will be \$30 billion in fair tax cuts. Fair tax cuts.

Mr. Chairman, I will also tell you, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) tells you where those off-sets will be. It is paid for. There is no ambiguity around it, no mirrors and smoke.

I suppose fairness is to be for certain citizens and not for others. We should have a budget resolution that speaks to the needs of all America, including all citizens, not just some of the citizens. And this program does not do that, because in addition to the \$10 billion coming from welfare, what we call assistance to the dependent children, in addition to that, food stamps will be cut, training, welfare-to-work will be cut, WIC will be cut, LIHEAP will be cut, Title I education will also be cut.

By repealing our vital education programs, the Republican plan just fails to understand that the American people put education first as their main priority.

The Spratt commitment, yes, it does have a new initiative. The new initiative says 75,000 new teachers. Again, you say that is spending more. Yes, but he tells you how that will be paid for. \$10 billion over 5 years, \$2 billion a year, and it is paid for. That is not spending more money. It is simply changing the priorities to speak to the needs of the people.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a "no" vote on the Republican resolution.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, much of our debate tonight has focused on the fiscal irresponsibility of the Republican majority's budget, on its failure to reserve the surplus, its failure to ensure the future of Social Security and to reduce the national debt, its failure to take account of the huge transportation bill

we just passed, its failure in double counting the savings from veterans health care and Social Service accounts.

But the Republican budget is not only fiscally unrealistic and irresponsible, it also gets the priorities wrong, and that is what I want to address in the few minutes that I have tonight.

It gets the priorities wrong. I want to stress one priority, education, which is number one in my district and number one to me personally and which represents an investment in the future of our children and our country.

The Republican budget would cut the education and training portion of our budget by some \$4.4 billion below, below, the balanced budget agreement.

Details are few and far between, but the Republicans claim to find savings by consolidating higher education programs. While the budget promises to increase Pell grants, there is no way of telling what might be cut in order to achieve that. Will work study be cut? Will State student incentive grants be eliminated? Will the Republican budget limit the access to higher education that is the key to a higher standard of living, that is the key to equipping people to meet their goals and better serve their families and serve their communities?

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The House has just passed a Higher Education Act which promises to open up opportunities, and yet this budget takes little or no account of that.

In the area of elementary and secondary education, the Republicans propose to repeal the current Title I program and create a voucher program in its place. Title I provides opportunities for disadvantaged young children who are the most vulnerable in our society. The Republican budget will put Federal efforts to meet the needs of these at-risk children in jeopardy. Education is the key to equal opportunity.

The House Republican budget would do more damage to the goal of expanding opportunity than any budget in recent memory. The Democratic budget, by contrast, is fiscally responsible, and it recognizes the priority we place on education.

It includes the provision to reduce the classroom size in this country in grades one through three with the hiring of 75,000 new teachers. It provides tax credits to enable working parents to afford good child care. It provides a tax break so that school districts can more easily finance the bonds necessary to modernize and build schools. These modest initiatives are all paid for, and not a penny, not a penny comes from the surplus.

The Democratic budget is consistent with the balanced budget agreement and observes the budgetary rules that have produced surpluses and a booming economy. It gets our country's prior-

ities straight, including the education of our children. I urge support for the Democratic alternative.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to yield 4½ minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG).

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Chairman, there has been some talk about whether or not we are defending the Republican budget and whether we are proud of it. I am very proud of this budget. This budget does set the right priorities and takes this country in the right direction. If there were a little more truth on this floor and a little less rhetoric, perhaps we would see that.

We have heard our colleagues on the other side say time after time after time that this budget cuts spending. Let me make it very clear. Nowhere outside of this beltway that surrounds this city is an increase in spending from \$7.8 trillion over 5 years up to \$9.0 trillion a cut. It is simply not a cut. We cannot go from \$7.8 up to \$9.0 and call it a cut. So let us get that point of truth on the record to begin with.

Then let us go to what this debate is really about, because it really is a very simple debate. It is a simple debate between their belief in bigger government and higher taxes because they do not trust people; our belief in a slightly smaller, more efficient government with lower taxes because we do trust people.

That is the fundamental debate going on here tonight. They want to reach deeper into the pockets of the American people and take more money out so that they can spend it because they do not trust Americans to spend their own money.

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) talks about a \$30 billion tax cut in his budget. Unfortunately, that just is not true. There is not a \$30 billion tax cut in the Spratt budget because there is not a \$1 billion cut in the Spratt budget, because there is not a one penny tax cut in the Spratt budget.

Because do you know what the Spratt budget does? It raises taxes on some Americans by \$30 billion and includes a sense of the Congress that we ought to give that \$30 billion back. Do you know what? The American people are going to figure that out. If we raise taxes on some by \$30 billion and we lower it on others by \$30 billion, that is a net tax cut of zero, not a net tax cut of \$30 billion.

So how does that fit into the scheme? That fits into the scheme that they want more of the American people's money, and we want to leave more of the American people's money with them.

The President, the President told us in 1994, right after I got elected, that we could not balance America's budget in 7 years; and we shut down the government over that fight. Three years later, I am proud to be standing here, and we did not balance it in 7 years, we

balanced it in 3 years. They brag about the surplus, the surplus their President fought us tooth and nail over.

Let us talk about the President and his record. He says the era of big government is over. Do you know why? Because for him the era of bigger government had just begun. In his budget, which they do not have the guts to propose, taxes go up by \$130 billion. New spending goes up by \$150 billion.

There are 39 new entitlement programs. They talk about controlling entitlement spending, but their President proposes 39 new entitlement programs. Do you want to burden the American people? That is the way to do it. And 85 new additional programs.

Let us talk about the other issue that has really gotten to them tonight, and that is the fact that this is a 1 percent cut in spending. That has really bugged them all night long. They have come to the floor and said, by, gosh, this is a fraud to call it a 1 percent cut. Do you know what? In a technical sense, they are right, because it is not a cut in spending.

Spending is going up. In our budget, it goes up at about the rate of inflation. In their budget, it goes up dramatically above the rate of inflation. They want bigger. They want more. They want deeper into the people's pockets because they think only government is the answer. But do you know what? Our budget is a 1 percent reduction in the planned increase in spending.

My friend, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT) just said it: Well, take a 1-inch notch out of a belt that is 9 feet 1 inch long. I think the American people understand we can do that, and they are darn proud of us for trying and darn proud of this budget for doing it. It is a 1 percent cut. Deal with it.

Now, details. They say, oh, we lack all the details. There is a process for details. It is damned if we do and damned if we do not. They want to see the details because they want to ridicule the details.

Then they do not want to deal with the fact that the process here says the budget resolution is supposed to set numbers. The details are supposed to come from the appropriators and the authorizers. In this case, that is the process we are going to follow, and it is the process the American Constitution and the laws and the rules that govern this Congress are arranged to deal with and are designed to deal with.

They believe in government. We believe in people. Do you know what? The American people sent us here to do that.

The Spratt budget says one more thing. It says that in the balanced budget agreement of last year we set a spending floor. Do not go below it by a dime. Do not try to save another penny.

Do you know, I have a family that I run. In my family, in the Shadegg family, because we built a budget last year, we do not quit trying to save money next year. Do you know what? In every family budget in America, if they can figure out a way to save a little bit more money next year, they try to do it.

In every business in America, the entire rubric is efficiency. Produce more with less. That is what the genius of America is about. But inside the beltway, inside the Congress, inside this highway, inside this House, the only thing we can do is more means more means more means spend more. It means reach into the pockets of the American people deeper, and it is wrong.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1½ minutes to respond.

Mr. Chairman, first let me respond with respect to the tax cuts. We see a code replete with deductions and credits and exemptions and preferences and concessions, and most of them work to the advantage of well-heeled taxpayers. We are saying in this resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means, can you not give the code a scrub and see if you cannot tilt the code a little bit more in favor of working families so we can increase the child tax credit, and, yes, mitigate the marital penalty? Can we not do that within the code?

Let me say something about the growth of government. I am reading from a CBO report, the Economic and Budget Outlook of the Government. Discretionary spending once again. When President Clinton came to office in 1993 it was \$540 billion. Last year it was \$548 billion, 1997. In 4 years it grew by \$8 billion.

Let me remind my colleagues again, the middle of the Reagan years, 1986, the government was taking 23 cents out of every dollar made in this economy. Today it is down, under the Clinton administration, to 19.9 cents, down three full percentage points.

□ 1250

Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, those were the facts out of CBO's book, who that side has appointed. The chairman of the Committee on the Budget mentioned Alan Greenspan early on in this debate, and people have forgotten that. Alan Greenspan came before the Congress in 1995 and said to the Joint Economic Committee, before their policies had any place in this economy, that the economy was in the best shape it had been in over 30 years. Those were the facts.

Tonight we talk about budget baloney, budget baloney. I did not say that, the New York Times said it. The New York Times, not a good source. I tell my friend, the gentleman from Ari-

zona, that his neighbor from New Mexico did not call it baloney. He called it a mockery.

He was then joined by Senator STEVENS, another Republican leader, chair of the Appropriations Committee, and he said, if the Republican budget in the House is adopted, "I don't think Congress could function." The New York Times, Senator DOMENICI, Senator STEVENS.

We have had a lot of talk on this floor. In 1993 your CBO said the 103rd Congress reduced the deficit by \$116 billion. That same CBO, not a Democratic CBO, that same CBO, said that the 104th Congress, 105th Congress and 106th Congress, reduced it by \$23 billion; in other words, 20 percent of what was done under the Clinton Congress with Democratic leadership.

Mr. Chairman, that is not why we balanced this budget, because there was another budget in 1990 that a President named Bush had the courage at that time to stand up and say it was necessary because the OMB Director, Mr. Darman, and maybe even Mr. Sununu, said "You had better do this. You had better do this if America is going to get on the right track."

So it was the 1990 budget deal, the 1993 Budget Act, for which no Republican voted, which was, by the way, not, underlined not, the largest tax increase in history; not. The largest tax increase in history was in 1983, signed by Ronald Reagan. Check the facts. Check the book.

Stop lying to the American people. What the American people want, whether it is 1 o'clock in the morning in Columbus, Ohio, or 7 o'clock in the evening in Honolulu, Hawaii, is honesty.

This 9-foot belt is the diet they want to go on; 1 percent, baloney, malarkey, mockery. They cut it by three-tenths of an inch next year. Why? Because they do not want any political ramifications. Then the next year they cut it by six-tenths of an inch. They are almost up to an inch, the courageous budget cutters over there. Then, to the fifth year of their diet, they cut it by two inches. Guess what? None of us may be around by then, so we may not have to do the consequences. None of the Members on that side of the aisle believes for one second they will be able to cut it by 2 inches.

Mr. Chairman, as usual, one thing they did cut was Federal employees, those bureaucrats that the chairman spoke so derisively about who have paid mightily, over \$200 billion since 1981, to contribute to bringing this deficit to surplus. They cut them by another approximately \$3.5 billion over 5 years, they who want to cut the taxes for average working Americans.

It is amazing how they do not believe that Federal employees are average working Americans. It is okay to cut them in terms of their salaries, so they

can transfer that to cut taxes for somebody else; very good, take it out of one pocket and put it in another pocket.

The reason we ought to reject this budget is because it is not an honest budget, which is why it is called by the New York Times "budget baloney." We ought to defeat this budget because it is not honest, as I said, at 1 o'clock or 6 o'clock, at any time.

As Stockman said in 1983 in his book, we hid the real facts. We said we were going to cut later, and guess what? Everybody knew, everybody knew, including Stockman at the time he offered the budget that ballooned these deficits out of sight that this President has brought down, that it could not be done. They repeat that error today at the country's risk.

Reject this budget, pass the Spratt budget. It is good for America.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, to be perfectly honest, I was one of the 49 people who voted for that tax increase in 1990, and I have regretted it ever since. I vowed I would never do it again. I vowed I would not do it, because when we increased the so-called luxury tax and increased the taxes, we got less revenue, because taxes are dynamic. When we cut taxes on capital gains in 1997, we found that taxes grew.

That is the way I honestly feel. I felt that a lot of the gentleman's dialogue was rhetoric to me tonight. I would just like to be honest and tell the gentleman that one of the things that really concerns me is this House thinks it has a surplus, and we can go on our spending ways. That is how I honestly feel.

I am ashamed of the transportation budget that passed, and I am grateful that the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JOHN KASICH) reoriented us to think about saving money, rather than spending money. That is how I honestly feel.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, can I ask the gentleman an honest question?

Mr. SHAYS. Sure.

Mr. HOYER. I voted with the gentleman on ISTEAL.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) has expired.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman thought ISTEAL was not a good bill. The gentleman passed it overwhelmingly. His leadership brought it to the floor. Why does the gentleman not fund it in this budget?

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOYER. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, because I hope the President has the good sense to veto it.

Mr. HOYER. The President has been trying to help the gentleman out for a long time. He has done a pretty good job so far.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. NEUMANN).

Mr. NEUMANN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my support of the Kasich budget, too, and to supply praise to our chairman. He came into a meeting about 2 months ago. The meeting was kind of downcast at that point. He said, it is about time we got back on track and started doing what we came here to do. He got a lot of us fired back up and back on track, doing what we came here to do in the first place, which is get spending under control.

In regard to the last comments that I have heard here, I have to say, if somebody can show me a bigger tax increase in the history of the United States of America, or the history of the world, for that matter, than the 1993 tax increase, I would certainly be interested in taking a look at the statistics.

But I will tell the Members this, I know for a fact, I know for a fact, that the American people did not want a tax increase on gasoline of 4.3 cents a gallon that was not even spent to build roads. I can absolutely guarantee the gentleman that the senior citizens in the United States of America did not want a tax increase on their Social Security benefits. That was the wrong approach to balancing the budget.

I have a colloquy I need to get into, but before I do I just want to show the Members how we did get to a balanced budget, and show what the American people really wanted and why they turned over control of the House of Representatives in 1994.

The Democrats brought us the answer of higher taxes in 1993, and that was the wrong answer. The right answer is they wanted us to get spending under control in government. The American people could not figure out why it was that the government budget had to grow faster than the family budget. Year after year after year after year the budget in this community kept going up at twice the rate of inflation, much faster than the rate of inflation.

When we came in here we said, we are not going to balance the budget by higher taxes, we are going to get spending under control in this community; not draconian cuts, we are just going to get spending down to a point where it is not going up faster than the rate of inflation.

I brought a little chart with me here this evening. Before we got here, this is the last 7 years before we got here, it was Democrat control of the House of Representatives, with spending going

up at 5.2 percent annually. This is now. This is how we got to a balanced budget. We got spending under control. This shows 3.2. The actual spending growth rate is down even lower in this blue column. It has actually been cut in half, not draconian cuts but spending brought under control, to the point where it is only being allowed to grow at the same rate as inflation.

□ 0100

Mr. Chairman, I need to enter into a colloquy with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) to clarify a particular issue that I have had Members coming and asking me about, and I just want to make sure that I understand it correctly.

I would just like to verify, and this refers to section 5 in the substitute amendment, and I would just like to verify that this in no way has any impact on congressional salaries in one way or another. This is designed to require that any salaries for any new commissions and employees of those commissions, such as the Social Security that is being discussed, that the salaries of these new employees shall be under the heading of discretionary spending as opposed to mandatory spending, and that is the purpose of the discussion here in section 5. It merely changes the accounting procedures by which the House estimates the cost of appropriations bills. It clarifies that pay or compensation for Federal staff positions such as those of Federal commissions are subject to annual appropriation.

This change conforms House scoring practices with those in the Senate. In summary, it is a technical change in budgetary treatment of Federal positions. It makes no change whatsoever in pay or compensation levels.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NEUMANN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is correct.

Mr. NEUMANN. Chairman, reclaiming my time, I thank the gentleman. I appreciate that.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to get back to a further discussion of this budget and exactly what it is all about, because when I got out here to Washington, I got off the plane this week from Wisconsin, and it is like I enter a brand-new world out here. Everything is different. Everything I understand in Wisconsin, when I get out here it is all different.

In Wisconsin, we would say that if we spent \$1,722 billion in one year and \$1,910 billion in another year, we would call that a spending increase. In fact, under the Kasich plan, we are going to have spending of a total of \$9 trillion. That is 9,000 billions of dollars over the next 5 years. An inflationary number would be approximately \$8,980 billion,

so the increase is roughly at the rate of inflation.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to again commend the gentleman from Ohio (Chairman KASICH), because if we take Social Security out of the picture, which is increasing faster than the rate of inflation for obvious reasons because we have new seniors coming in, if we look at the rest of the budget other than Social Security, we would find that the Chairman KASICH and the Committee on the Budget has held spending increases actually below the rate of inflation.

I bring this up for a good reason. We recently asked through the Polling Place, a firm recently asked 2,000 adults in the United States of America, Kelly Ann Fitzpatrick's poll, the Polling Place, "Do you think spending at the Federal Government level should go up faster than the rate of inflation, at the rate of inflation, or slower than the rate of inflation?" It was a 90-to-3 answer in the American people. Ninety percent of the people said government spending should go up at or below the rate of inflation. And if we take Social Security out of the picture, that is exactly what this budget accomplishes.

This budget is not about a Democrat or Republican fight or this rhetoric that we are hearing here tonight. It is about what the American people want by a 90-to-3 margin. The American people expect us to keep our budget going up at or below the rate that the family budget is going up out there across this great country.

That is what this budgeting is about. It is not about the rhetoric. It is about holding the line on spending. Not draconian cuts, but holding the line on spending so that it does not go up faster than the rate of inflation.

It would be my pleasure tomorrow to vote for the Kasich plan.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, in his introductory speech, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), chairman of the Committee on the Budget, talked a great deal about American families. Well, Federal employees are members of American families, too.

Last year, Federal employees' families were asked to contribute almost \$5 billion in savings so that every other American family could enjoy a tax cut. And in return for that contribution, Congress fixed the structure of the Federal employee's health benefits package to make it more affordable and sustainable.

This budget reneges on that contract and does so in a way that will cause immeasurable harm to the Federal employee's health benefits program and to the Federal civil service by changing the formula on which the employer's share of their health premiums are based.

This maneuver saves \$3,300 billion, but it is an unwise policy change, and it violates last year's budget agreement that stabilized the cost-sharing relationship between the Federal Government and its employees.

According to CBO estimates, this change would reduce the employer's share of health insurance premiums from 72 percent to 50 percent over the next 7 years. In other words, the employee's share will rise from 28 percent to 50 percent.

This will result in Federal employees and retirees paying hundreds of dollars more in additional health care costs. Moreover, the budget resolution will lead to adverse selection by encouraging healthy employees to switch to less expensive plans.

This will profoundly undermine the integrity of the Federal Employee's Health Benefits Program. The Federal Employee's Health Benefits Program is one of the most successful programs in the country for providing health insurance to employees. It is promoted as the model for any changes in Medicare, military retiree health care. We just incorporated FEHBP into military retiree health care, Medicaid and so many private insurance plans. It is successful because it is managed as a part of a compensation package for Federal employees, and it has thus been protected up until now from arbitrary political changes.

Although it is one of the most successful programs, it is definitely not one of the most generous health insurance packages. Making the changes that this committee proposes will not only hurt Federal employees and Federal retirees living on fixed incomes, but it will also hurt the ability of the government to recruit and retain highest-quality employees. And that will hurt American citizens who count on professional, efficient, incorruptible Federal workers to serve them.

Mr. Chairman, this alone is a reason to oppose this budget resolution. There are other reasons. The tax cut basically is financed by using what is a surplus from Social Security Trust Funds. We do not have a surplus now in general funds. We have a surplus in Social Security Trust Funds. There is still about a \$50 billion general fund deficit. Perhaps over the years it is projected we will have a surplus that we can devote to tax cuts. But when we promise the American people these kinds of \$100 billion in tax cuts without a real surplus to do so, it is irresponsible, it is a false promise. This budget resolution is a political document and it should be rejected.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH).

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, it has been interesting to listen to this and I would note I am

honored for the mention of prime time in Arizona, because it is high time my constituents believe to approach these questions with less heat and a lot more light.

I listened with interest to my colleague from Maryland decry the largest tax increase in American history. He said that fact was not true. I would agree with him to this extent. A member of the minority party in the other body, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN of New York, called it the largest tax increase in the history of the world. So I think that is important to note for the record.

But we are really not here to hurl brickbats as much as we are here to try to find reasonable solutions for the American people.

The people of the Sixth Congressional District of Arizona work hard for the money they earn. They want to hang on to more of it and send less of it to Washington, D.C. I appreciate the concern that we all have for Federal employees, but there is a broader question that requires comment based on what the gentleman from Virginia just recited, and it is this. The fact is in the early 1990s, government at all levels had become this Nation's number one employer; and in the early 1990s, government outstripped manufacturing in this country in excess of 600,000 jobs. And the fact is that has only grown.

So there is a larger question. Should dedicated, hard-working people have more opportunities in the private sector rather than always searching for government?

And I understand the political dynamic. I understand how sadly some people are yoked to the public employee's union and to Boss McEntee and Boss Sweeney and those who claim we should always have more government jobs and more government spending and higher taxes.

□ 0110

There is another component of the Spratt plan that my colleague from Arizona pointed out: No net tax cuts but a sense of the Congress resolution that maybe conceivably tax cuts, tax relief might be a good idea.

My friend from South Carolina wanted to task my committee, the Committee on Ways and Means, and he talked about massaging the Tax Code and various and sundry other measures. Mr. Chairman, we do not need to massage or try to change in that way. What we need to do is clearly and unequivocally offer tax relief to working families.

One of the most egregious tax penalties we have today is the marriage penalty. It is our goal, with this common sense conservative majority budget, to outline for the American people a reasonable, rational way to throw off the yoke of this marriage penalty, to allow working families to hang on to

more of what they earn, not to be penalized, and to understand underpinning all of this is the common sense notion that this money belongs to the American people.

I heard some friends from the other side talk about education. I would ask those friends to join me in the spirit of bipartisanship for those educational solutions that empower local communities and parents and teachers rather than empower Washington bureaucrats.

Indeed, I have put forth two bills. I would welcome bipartisan sponsorship of the new Education Land Grant Act that offers conveyances of federally controlled land with no budgetary impact, so that we can make sure that resources are used to help children learn and help teachers teach in a way that draws on the best of our history and the best of our experiences. Proverbs notes there is nothing new under the sun, and we see the wisdom of that scripture.

As my colleague from Arizona pointed out, there are two philosophies at work here on the floor. When you strip away the rhetoric and the revisionist history and some of the mundane points, there are really two philosophies here. It is this simple concept. Do we want to continue runaway spending and runaway growth, or are we reasonably assured that we can put the brakes on to the extent not that we offer draconian cuts in spending but that we offer government spending at the rate of inflation?

It is a reasonable concept. We have a chance to build on this historic landmark, not to have it as the floor nor the ceiling but as the starting point on which to build and improve, for we have the chance to allow the American people to hold on to more of their money and at the same time increase surpluses by simply recognizing this fact.

We have asked the American people to sacrifice time and again so that Washington could offer more and more programs. Let us make this change. Let us ask Washington to rein it in so that American families can hold on to more of what they earn, so that working people can provide for their own families.

There are a lot of dedicated people that work for the government. I have no doubt of that. But no Washington bureaucrat, no matter how well-meaning or how compassionate, can possibly care for your family as much as you can. Our budget plan recognizes that in a common sense fashion that does not rely on smoke and mirrors and does not promise everything to everybody but says simply this: It is time to rein in spending, it is time for a common sense approach. It is time to stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before, and it is time to improve on the bipartisan agreement of last year. Let us do so.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

My 5-year-old daughter Jacquelyn graduated from nursery school last night and I was unable to be in attendance because I thought this was an important place to be for this debate.

The President of the United States, Members of both parties of this institution and, more importantly, workers and entrepreneurs around America have already given my daughter and her classmates a very precious gift in the last few years, in that we have stopped running our government by borrowing money.

That is a magnificent achievement that we should make sure that we enshrine permanently into the budgets of our Federal Government. I think it is time that we gave my daughter and those of her generation another gift, and that is the permanent preservation of Social Security. Because the Spratt Democratic budget is superior to the Republican budget in that way, I will be casting my vote in favor of the Spratt budget and against the Republican budget tomorrow.

Let me explain why. Since 1970 we have taken about \$700 billion out of the country's pension fund, out of the Social Security trust fund. It is now projected that over the next five years, somewhere between one half or, I should say, between one-third and two-thirds of that money will be available for replenishment of the money that we have taken out, somewhere between \$240 and \$490 billion in accumulated surplus. This debate is first and foremost about what to do with that money, what to do with that surplus that we are confident will accumulate over the next five years.

The Republican plan is mysterious in this regard. The document before us tonight is silent, but the record is not.

The majority has talked about an untested theoretical think tank approach to Social Security that really is not Social Security, it is social engineering, an idea of giving Americans across the country an undefined amount of money in an undefined account to act in an undefined way. When it comes to Social Security, I believe that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and the Democrats have the right answer: "If the ain't broke, don't fix it."

The basic formula of Social Security has worked in this country for over 60 years. The system needs modification and improvement but the basic formula, I believe, does not need retooling.

Earlier this year I introduced legislation that would guarantee the use of any accumulated Federal cash surplus first and foremost for the preservation

of Social Security. I am very pleased that that principle has been very much enshrined in the resolution put forward by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT). If his resolution becomes the law, and I am confident that some form of it will, we will set aside and replenish anywhere from one-third to two-thirds of that money that has been taken out of the national pension fund since 1970, so it will not solve the problem of Social Security because of the demographic lines it will inevitably cross, but it will make the solution to that problem infinitely more within our reach, and it is the right thing to do.

The difference between the Democratic budget and the Republican budget is very stark, very simple and very clear. When it comes to the \$700 billion that Republicans and Democrats, Presidents and Congress have taken out of the Social Security fund for the last 8 years, the Democratic budget puts the money back in. The Republican budget raises a series of questions that I believe are not appropriately answered.

For those and for other reasons, I would urge my colleagues tomorrow to reject the budget the majority has put before us and to embrace and adopt the resolution put forward by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

This is not simply a matter of fiscal policy. It is a matter of national integrity. Each week when Americans have their FICA tax taken out of their paycheck, they are honoring a promise to us to pay their taxes. It is high time we honored the promise to them and adopted the Spratt resolution.

□ 0120

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH).

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I listened with great interest to my friend from New Jersey. I would just point out, because I think it is important and perhaps the gentleman is unaware, that sadly this President has already violated the promise he made right there about keeping the Social Security surplus intact in sending two billions of those dollars to keep troops in Bosnia. The stakes are too high to engage in catcalls about Social Security. The cautionary tale for all of us, Republicans and Democrats, is this: We owe it to seniors, today and tomorrow, to end the disinformation, to deal with them straight. I know the gentleman from New Jersey shares that sentiment. But for the historic record, as the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means pointed out in a letter to the President, as he pointed out in yesterday's edition of the Washington Post, this President has already spent \$2 billion of the Social Security surplus.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. ANDREWS. I ask my friend from Arizona, the Congressional Budget Office projects surpluses of \$223 billion over the 5 years we are talking about here tonight. Under the majority budget, how much of that is reserved for the Social Security surplus?

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank my colleague very much, and I appreciate the fact that he would like a specific notion on this, but I would defer to my friend who actually sat in the Committee on the Budget deliberations for these numbers because, as he knows, I do not sit on the Committee on the Budget. I would be happy to yield to my friend from Connecticut if he has a definite answer or perhaps since the gentleman from New Jersey asked the question, maybe he would like to share it with all of us in the Chamber.

Mr. SHAYS. If the gentleman will yield, my understanding is that what you all do is you put it into a special fund and then you are paying down debt. We are saving the surplus. We are not spending it. We did not go with our separate fund because we only have a margin of 10 votes and we did not get the margin to pass that.

The thing that is very troubling to us on this side of the aisle is that the President sought not to save all that surplus. He was going to spend \$43 billion of it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Michigan (Ms. RIVERS).

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan (Ms. RIVERS) is recognized for 2½ minutes.

Ms. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to make two comments to my friend from Arizona, the first one being relative to the argument that the President has already spent \$2 billion of Social Security money.

My recollection is that that came through the House here as a bill that actually was passed by this House. I know a significant number of Democrats did not vote for it, which suggests to me that a significant number of Republicans did therefore join the President in the decision to do that. So I think that when we talk about that particular issue, we should be talking about the fact that a bipartisan group, the President and a bipartisan group of Members of the House and the Senate decided to make that decision. It clearly was not a unilateral decision made on the part of the President.

Secondly, my friend from Arizona pointed out that he would invite people to join him on educational issues and it was said in such a way to suggest that perhaps I was being disingenuous in my concern. The issue that I raised was that in the Committee on the Budget, several people had talked about the desire to have the greatest impact on

local education by fully funding the Federal portion of special education. As a school board member for 8½ years, I believe that that is a very important thing to do and it is a view that I have held for a very long time. I offered an amendment to do that very thing. Unfortunately the committee was not willing to accept that and instead altered my proposal to make it a sense of the Congress so it would not be binding.

I would be willing to join with the gentleman from Arizona. If he would like to cosponsor that bill here in the House, I would be happy to do it. I understand he has a bill, a conveyance of land which is probably a nice gesture but it does not pay the bills for local school districts, and I think a change in the funding formula for special education would have a huge impact on local schools and it is something I am very supportive of.

We have talked a lot about process, about history, we have put out charts, we have talked about our own view of the problem before us and depending on your perspective, that may be fact, that may be demagoguery. But at the end of the day all these proposals are going to be evaluated by everyday Americans on how they affect them and their families. It is going to be the impact of the decisions that will determine whether or not they are supported.

I want to talk about one particular proposal in here, because I think the impact could be truly egregious. Initially this proposal came out as a \$10 billion change in funding for Medicare. On May 12, 1998 we saw that in a document that was presented. Last night that decision was altered. My assumption is that there was a hue and cry that went up about Medicare, there was an understanding that this is a group of people affected, senior citizens, who are a little too responsive, a little too organized, a little too likely to vote, and so the decision was made to go with Medicaid, seniors who are in long-term care, kids and poor people. Shame.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for general debate on the Congressional budget allotted to the minority has expired.

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) as the designee of the gentleman from California (Mr. STARK) is recognized for 30 minutes on the subject of economic goals and policies.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I just have a two-minute closing. The gentleman might just want to make a few closing remarks, and then we can yield back the time. Does the gentleman care to make any other comments?

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I am ready to close. It is 1:25.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I will yield back our time after I just make a 2-minute comment.

Mr. SPRATT. Is the gentleman yielding back all the time?

Mr. SHAYS. I was going to use 2 minutes and then yield back the rest.

Mr. SPRATT. We are waiving the Humphrey-Hawkins debate, then?

Mr. SHAYS. We would yield it all back.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Chairman, this is a process that has not been easy for this side of the aisle for a variety of reasons. When the President came in with his budget, he came in with 85 new spending programs, including 39 new entitlements, more than \$150 billion in new spending over 5 years, \$129 billion in tax increases over 5 years to pay for some of that spending, from the same President who in 1993 signed a very large tax increase. We had a Congress that got eager to spend more money, on roads and bridges, and we have frankly on this side of the aisle only a margin of 10 votes. It is very difficult to bring forward a budget when you have 435 Members of Congress who have many different views on how to do a budget. But the bottom line is that the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) got us reoriented in a way I think was very important. He began to question whether we had assumed that we had arrived at a point of surplus where we did not need to begin to focus on finding ways to continue to slow the growth of government spending and help reduce government.

He has had a tough battle. He has not won all his battles. There have been continual changes to his budget as one Member or another says, "I am not voting for the budget unless we do the following." But I wager to say if he did not do this battle, we would be spending more than the caps allowed, as the President sought to do.

The President sought to spend more than the caps would allow in the next 5 years. I do not think my colleagues on the other side of the aisle agreed with that and are going to come in with another plan. But we will have extensive debate in the next few weeks. The appropriators will come out with their plan. The Committee on Ways and Means will come out with their plan. In the end, I hope we come to a conclusion that finds this government not as large, that saves money, and provides for a tax reduction in an area that is paid for not by surplus but by slowing the growth of spending.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to voice my concerns about H. Con. Res. 284, the House Budget Resolution. I strongly object to the Budget that has been proposed by the Republican leadership.

The Republican plan misses every opportunity to make constructive investments in our future to improve our government's services and benefits for our citizens who need it most.

The House Republican budget resolution eliminates the 15% exemption from the food

stamp work requirement for able bodied adults without dependents. This will eliminate food stamp benefits to more than one million hungry people in the average month. It eliminates funding for food stamp employment and training programs so that people who are relying on food stamps to feed their children and themselves will have nowhere to find job training after they lose their access to food. Over a five year period this plan will reduce food stamp employment funding by \$200 million. \$200 million for needy families.

This is a travesty! How can we say that we care about the health and welfare of our future, about our children's health when we remove poor children's access to crucial health care?

If the Republicans themselves say they cannot live with the bill, how can our most needy and most vulnerable populations live with such a plan? The answer is that our children, our inner city poor, our single parents, will suffer and unfairly.

In contrast, the Democratic bill includes \$10 billion over five years to help working families. This money can be used to reduce classroom size: 75,000 additional teachers and 1.2 billion for the Child Care and Early Learning Fund.

And what about our children's chances for education, for advancement, for their chance to be respected, learned and contributive members of our communities? The Republicans themselves have criticized the plan. Senator DOMENICI in relation to the bill said "You just can't do this. This is just not a possible solution and we [in the Senate] would not do it because we couldn't live with it in the waning days of the session."

We simply can and should not terminate all direct federal assistance to public school districts in our poorest areas by repealing Title I grants. It is shocking that the Republican plan cuts the discretionary education program by \$6 billion below last year's Balanced Budget Agreement and \$7 billion below our Democratic plan.

We must not eliminate bilingual education. Our children who speak a foreign language as a first language should not be forced to suffer because their English is not as proficient. We can learn so much from each other, but only if we listen and work with each other.

It will eliminate Americorps and the Legal Services Corporation both which provide critical assistance to many of our poor citizens who need to secure housing, fair pay AND a fair chance.

We must put the health and welfare of our people, our families, our communities first. The Republican plan would freeze WIC, and head start at 1998 funding levels for 5 years, as well as section 8 Housing causing at least a million households to lose federal vouchers and certificates by 2003.

In fact 14 percent of the Mandatory cuts come from low income programs, hitting those who need the funding the most. Our families who need food stamps for their basic nutritional needs, welfare to work and social service programs, will lose their tentative grip on self-sufficient independent living when all these are erased.

Combined with the \$12 billion worth of cuts in Medicaid/Children's Health Insurance Program, almost 49% of the Republican's mandatory cuts hit programs for the poor and near

poor, even though these programs constitute only about one-fifth of all entitlements.

Again, the Democratic bill includes the "patient's Bill of Rights Act" which reform the managed care system, this will help families and help those who cannot afford adequate health care. The Democratic bill will also fund health care, health research related to Tobacco. The Republican plan ignores the effects smoking has on youth in America.

In the President's State of the Union Address, he proposed initiatives in child care, health care and education, yet, the Republicans in Budget Committee voted to reject every single initiative, even the most inexpensive. We have a responsibility to provide for our nation's future and all the people who need services to survive and to thrive.

In my home state of Texas, proposed cuts in the Social Services Block Grant will result in a loss to the State of Texas of approximately \$28.7 million. Child and Family Services, Child Care Regulation and Adult Protective Services will be reduced by \$8.89 million from the amount they currently receive, and the Texas Workforce Commission which receives 1.2% of the Texas allocation and supports child care for low income families will be cut by 17% or \$340,000. The Department of Human Services providing Family Violence and Community Care Services will lose 14.34 million dollars.

In Harris County where I live, poverty has increased 42%, and 240,000 children are living in poverty, and 30,000 families are on the waiting list for child care assistance. Child abuse and neglect accounts for 20% of all children's homicides in the county, and only 42.7% of all the children who were abused in Harris County actually received any therapeutic services.

I urge my colleagues to think carefully when they cast their votes this evening on the budget. It is critical that we consider fairness, and compassion in making these decisions. We must provide adequate resources to ensure our America, our children a strong and healthy future.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the budget here before us and urge my colleagues to support the measure.

The budget resolution we're debating today is the natural extension of our mission in Congress to balance the budget, eliminate the deficit, cut taxes, and return power, money and influence to the American people. The goals we are seeking with this budget are the same goals of every other major piece of reform legislation we have passed here since 1994.

This budget continues our commitment to fighting the tendency of government to expand and spend more money. It slows the future growth of government by one penny on the dollar so that Congress can eliminate the Marriage Tax Penalty—a uniquely harmful quirk of our tax code which actually delivers a specific tax increase to men and women who seek to build their lives together.

Refuting the President's bloated 1999 spending plan is also accomplished by our resolution here today. When the President sent up his suggestions for the 1999 budget I had to scratch my head because I thought someone had accidentally delivered one of the President's big government budgets from before he signed the Balanced Budget Act. His

big-spending, Washington-knows-best version of the budget comes from a mindset that says people at the state and local level don't know how to solve their own problems. We know that just isn't true.

The President's budget actually contains \$150 billion in new spending, creates 85 new spending programs, and 39 new entitlements. He even wants to raise taxes to the tune of \$129 billion over five years. And he does nothing about the Marriage Tax Penalty. This is the same President who just a few days ago declared the budget balanced and took credit for our country's new budget surplus. I wonder if he'll hold a similar press conference when his big new spending plans put us back into the red? The budget before us today refutes the President's bloated spending plan and reminds him that he did in fact sign the Balanced Budget Act and he is obligated to honor it, just as Congress must honor it.

One of my proudest moments as a member of this body was when we approved the legislation which balanced the budget for the first time since 1969 and gave Americans their first tax cuts in 16 years. This was a dramatic move forward which permanently changed the way the government works, and reminded Washington that it does in fact have a master—the people.

Now we are moving forward and taking the next step in order to control the size and scope of government, in order to reduce its interference in our businesses and personal lives, and in order to let families keep more of their hard earned money.

If you're like me and you think that somewhere, someplace in the halls of the bureaucracy, there might be just one penny of savings to be found for each buck we spend, then maybe you should consider supporting this budget.

And, if you're like me, and you think that we should take that one percent of savings and use it to end a policy that singles out families for higher taxes and instead reduce their taxes, then maybe you should consider supporting this budget.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan credits the actions of Congress with the new-found fiscal responsibility that today rules our federal government. Let's build on these successes, not sit on our laurels, and let's move forward with the logical next step in the budget process, which is to continue to deliver savings and tax relief to the people of this great nation which we serve.

Pass the resolution.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I remember that when I became a member of this Congress six years ago, the American economy was in trouble. In 1993 the budget deficit was over a quarter of a trillion dollars, growth was an anemic 2.3 percent and unemployment was hovering at an alarming seven percent.

Today I can't pick up the paper without reading about the latest statistics of good news: the longest period of post-war expansion, with last year an amazing 3.9 growth rate; the lowest unemployment rate in about three decades, today barely over four percent, and a fiscal situation that was regarded as a fantasy when this president took office: this year a projected budget surplus of \$39 billion.

The difference between then and now can be seen in the newspaper almost every day. In fact, on the front page of today's New York Times business section was a story reporting a 12.1 percent increase in American car and truck sales. The reason for the continuing bright news was explained by General Motors' chief forecaster, who stated, "The fundamentals of the economy are very strong. A lot has been written about the industry slowing down, but frankly it's hard to see that happening because of low unemployment, low interest rates and high consumer confidence."

Some people from the other side who are a little embarrassed that the economy is doing so well under a Democratic president like to point out that a president isn't responsible for every aspect of the economy. Maybe so. But if there is one area where the executive does make an impact, it's fiscal policy. It's a simple relationship: when the budget is balanced, interest rates stay down. And low interest rates drive a robust economy.

Over 12 years of Republican presidents, we saw budgets eat up trillions of dollars that we are all going to have to repay. What this President did when he took office was something that everybody said had to be done for the past three decades: stop government from borrowing from our future.

As we all know, those policies paid off much more quickly than even the most optimistic predictions: The budget moving into surplus years ahead of schedule. And why? The government is taking in record taxes. But not because citizens are being taxed more, but because with more people having jobs, fewer people need public assistance, while more working men and women pay taxes.

Some might scoff at the President's claim that his policies led to the massive creation of jobs that is the envy of the world. The president obviously isn't taking all the credit. But he can claim that America's private sector, especially its technology leaders, has flourished under an administration committed to eliminating obstacles and promoting opportunity. And just as importantly, he can point to the steadily decreasing budget deficit as a catalyst for growth, since business doesn't have to compete with the federal government anymore for capital.

The budget proposal we are considering today seems to turn the most common folk wisdom on its head. The Republican leadership seems to be saying: If it's fixed, let's break it. Just at the moment that we are poised to begin paying down our debt and shore up what is widely believed to be an unsustainable social security system, the other side wants to risk opening up the flood gates of deficit spending.

Just how does this budget resolution go about doing this? Well, first it calls for a \$100 billion tax cut in order to address the "marriage penalty." But the marriage penalty is in no way considered to cost that much. Furthermore, there is no guarantee at all that in the final budgets that Congress produces over the next few years that these cuts will have anything to do with fixing the marriage penalty. That will be determined by a Ways and Means Committee which has yet to support such a fix.

And what does this resolution cut in order to pay for this tax scheme? Well, one offset is

veterans spending, which was already hit in the transportation bill, and another is welfare reform, hitting the people who need the most help. Mr. Speaker, these are not the people who should be sacrificing so that others can get a tax break.

This is no time to make long-term changes in the budget. This is no time to create new tax schemes that are likely to trigger chronic deficits yet again. It took twenty years and trillions of dollars of red ink to produce the political will needed to tackle the last round of deficits. It won't be easy to reverse this mistake even when its effects become apparent.

Let's stay with the President's plea to save social security first, an idea which enjoys tremendous bipartisan support throughout the nation. After we finish with the business at hand, then we can have an honest debate about the benefits of a surplus.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend my colleagues on the House Budget Committee who supported NIH funding increases: the gentleman from Ohio, Budget Committee Chairman KASICH stated at the Budget Committee markup that he hoped that the Appropriators could give the NIH an even bigger boost than the Budget recommended and I want to thank him for the support, along with the gentleman from Florida, Mr. MILLER who also spoke about the excellent testimony he heard from our Noble laureates in Medicine about the health advances we could make with increased funding, and the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. GUTKNECHT, who also urged for increases in health research, which he knows from the excellent research and health care facility in his District, the Mayo Clinic. Also, the effort was bipartisan in the Budget Committee with the gentleman from Texas, Mr. BENTSEN, offering an amendment to double NIH funding over 5 years.

Appreciating all the excellent efforts of the House Budget Committee Members to increase NIH funding, I respectfully urge them to recede to the Senate Budget Resolution on NIH funding for FY'99 when they go to the Conference.

Under the current budget spending caps it will be difficult to increase funding for the NIH at the level that is needed to make medical progress and it is impossible to fund the doubling goal under the caps. Again, I urge my colleagues on the Budget Committee to consider alternative budget offsets that might be used and not counted under the budget caps, such as the revenues from tobacco use, a natural, related and logical step to allow some of these revenues if available to be used by the NIH for health research. This would be the best form of compensation to the victims of tobacco, if we were able to cure cancer or heart disease from tobacco revenues, because if we merely use these tobacco funds to compensate the States and the Federal Government for Medicaid and Medicare costs, just paying over and over for the same treatments and interventions without progress through health research for more effective care, we will never have the funds needed for all these health care treatments. Only progress through health research will truly reduce the costs of these programs. Save Medicare and Medicaid by using budget offsets to increase health research at the NIH. Senator DOMENICI has

called for protecting Medicare through use of the tobacco revenues in the Senate Budget Resolution, but we can only insure that result through increased health research funding at the NIH from tobacco revenues.

I want to continue to work with my colleagues on the House Budget Committee, NIH Authorizing Committee, and Appropriators to achieve these goals from some of the funding sources that I have discussed.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, I want to begin by commending Chairman KASICH for his leadership and I concur with him that our Federal Government is still too big, too bloated, and too tax heavy. The surplus hasn't even hit the Treasury and we have passed the largest transportation bill in American history—breaking our budget caps by tens of billions of dollars. If this is any indication, we need the Kasich budget now more than ever!

Far from being "radical," the Kasich budget recognizes that fiscal discipline is not a sometimes thing, it's an everyday thing. The modest savings in this plan are achievable, and they send a clear message that we are still serious about cutting Washington's budget to help the American family's budget.

Finally, I would like to clarify some misconceptions about tax cuts. As much as Congress and the President would like to think otherwise, the American taxpayers are primarily responsible for our current surplus. They are the ones working two jobs, taking risks, and investing in our economy . . . and they deserve a break. In this fiscal year alone, tax receipts are up by 11 percent, yet some of my friends would punish these Americans by maintaining the status quo. Remember Tax Freedom Day was May 10—later than ever before.

Mr. Speaker, we can do better than the status quo. The American people deserve relief and they demand continued fiscal discipline in Washington.

I strongly urge a "yes" vote on the Kasich budget.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

□ 0130

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. HAYWORTH) having assumed the chair, Mr. GILCREST, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 284) revising the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1998, establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1999, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2003, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### INTRODUCTION OF DISAPPROVAL RESOLUTION OF MFN FOR CHINA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the President notified Congress that he is seeking to grant Most Favored Nation trade status to Communist China.

Today I am introducing a resolution of disapproval, which, if passed, would deny MFN status for China.

My reasons are the same as they have been over the years, and that is that appeasing Communist China has failed to encourage more decent and more responsible behavior by that criminal dictatorship in Beijing.

Across the board, the policies of the government of China continue to be repugnant and dangerous.

The human rights violations continue unabated.

China's unfair trade practices are as implacable as ever.

And China's rogue foreign policy continues to lead the world to an ever more dangerous situation.

In fact, China's proliferation activities have contributed mightily to the new nuclear arms race we are seeing in South Asia.

Only the threat of a big stick will moderate this regime, and MFN is that stick.

I look forward to the debate over the next few weeks.

#### WISHING BILLIE "THE GODMOTHER" CARR GREETINGS ON THE OCCASION OF HER 70TH BIRTHDAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize and celebrate the 70th birthday of a great American, Texan, and Democrat: Ms. Billie Carr. Please permit me to tell you a little bit about her. Her life is instructive.

Billie Carr is a native Houstonian. She attended the University of Houston and South Texas College. In 1954 she ran and was elected precinct chair in her home precinct. She still serves as precinct chair on the Harris County Democratic Party Committee.

Billie served on the state Democratic Executive Committee from 1964–1966. In 1972 she was elected to serve on the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and was elected in 1992 for her fifth term. She served on the National Resolutions Committee from 1984–1988, the National Platform Committee 1983–1984, and the National Fairness Commission from 1984–1986. She was elected in August this year to serve on the DNC's National Rules Committee.

What's more, "the Godmother," as we call her, was elected by the Southern region to represent it on the Executive Committee of the DNC in 1988 and still serves to this day. Clearly, Billie Carr has almost no rival in her commitment to political activism.

Further, Carr has been the recipient of many fine awards. She received the prestigious Eleanor Roosevelt Award in 1986. In 1987, she sort of received her own award, if you will—the Harris County Democrats Billie Carr Lifetime Achievement Award. Carr received awards from the Texas Democratic

Women in 1987 and a Star Award from the National Federation of Democratic Women. And, in 1994 the Texas Young Democrats gave her their Democrat of the Year Award.

In 1992 the Democratic Party had the 40th anniversary party for her 40 years of political activity. Every statewide official attended as well as then Presidential candidate Bill Clinton, who came for the convention, and spoke of his warm lifetime friendship with Billie.

Lastly, she is President of Billie Carr Associates and is the proud grandmother of two beautiful children.

In sum, Billie Carr's career began early and has lasted a virtual lifetime. From the start of her political involvement with Ralph Yarborough and Adlai Stevenson to the founding of Billie Carr Associates, she has displayed an amazing dedication to Democratic politics and public service. The awards and achievements you have earned in your life are truly breathtaking. Your record of accomplishments are an inspiration to us all. You certainly deserve to be called the Godmother of liberal democratic politics. Perhaps most significant, Mr. Speaker, she refused to take part in the despicable act and mindset of racial segregation when many chose to be passive or look the other way.

On behalf of the residents of the 18th Congressional District of Texas, I would like to offer you my heartfelt thanks for your continued efforts to serve our Houston community. Happy Birthday! Billie Carr.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for after 1:00 p.m. today and the balance of the week on account of attending her daughter's graduation.

Mr. REYES (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for after 1:00 p.m. today, Thursday, June 4, 1998 on account of official business.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for after 12:30 p.m. today, June 4, 1998, and for the balance of the week on account of personal business.

Mr. MCGOVERN (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today before 4:00 p.m. on account of official business.

Mr. ENGEL (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today after 5:30 p.m. on account of personal business.

Mr. YATES (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today after 7:30 p.m. on account of personal reasons.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GILCHREST) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. LINDA SMITH of Washington, June 5, for 5 minutes.

Mr. REDMOND, today and June 5, 8, 9 and 10, for 5 minutes each.

Mr. HUTCHINSON, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. HORN, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. RIGGS, today and June 5, for 5 minutes each.

Mr. SOLOMON, today, for 5 minutes.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SPRATT) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida.

Mr. KIND.

Mr. MENENDEZ.

Mr. MCHALE.

Mr. FROST.

Mr. REYES.

Mr. SCHUMER.

Mr. GEJDENSON.

Mr. BORSKI.

Mr. KUCINICH.

Mr. FORD.

Mr. PALLONE.

Mr. STARK.

Mr. ROEMER.

Mr. LANTOS.

Mr. SERRANO.

Mr. STARK.

Ms. KAPTUR.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GILCHREST) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. GILMAN.

Mrs. ROUKEMA.

Mr. HORN.

Mr. CRANE.

Mr. GEKAS.

Mr. PAPPAS.

Mr. ROGAN.

Mr. ROGERS.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.

Mr. BEREUTER.

Mr. GALLEGLY.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Oversight, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 824. An act to redesignate the Federal building located at 717 Madison Place, NW., in the District of Columbia, as the "Howard T. Markey National Courts Building."

#### BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Oversight reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for this approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 3565. An act to amend Part L of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 33 minutes a.m.), the House adjourned until today, June 5, 1998, at 9 a.m.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

941. A letter from the Administrator, Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to the Production Flexibility Contract Regulations (RIN: 0560-AF25) received June 2, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

942. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Delegation of National Emission Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutants for Source Categories; State of Nevada; Nevada Division of Environmental Protection; Washoe County District Health Department [FRL-6014-5] received May 22, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

943. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; State of Florida [F1-071-9810a; FRL-6015-4] received May 22, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

944. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold under a contract to Turkey (Transmittal No. DTC-54-98), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

945. A letter from the Acting Assistant Administrator for Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Fisheries of the Northeastern United States; Fishery Management Plan (FMP) for the Summer Flounder, Scup, and Black Sea Bass Fisheries; Recreational Measures for the 1998 Summer Flounder, Scup, and Black Sea Bass Fisheries [Docket No. 09-302051-8119-02; I.D. 021198B] (RIN: 0648-AK78) received June 2, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

946. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, transmitting the Office's final rule—New Mexico Regulatory Program [NM-038-FOR] received June 3, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

947. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, transmitting the Office's final rule—Kansas Abandoned Mine Land Reclamation Plan [SPATS No. KS-015-FOR] received June 3, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

948. A letter from the National Director of Appeals, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Federal Income Tax Withholding on Compensation Paid to

Nonresident Alien Crew by a Foreign Transportation Entity—received June 4, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

9449. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Certain Cash or Deferred Arrangements [Rev. Rul. 98-30] received June 4, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

9450. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Permitted Elimination of Preretirement Optional Forms of Benefit [TD 8769] (RIN: 1545-AV26) received June 4, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GOSS: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 457. Resolution providing for the consideration of the Senate amendments to the bill (H.R. 2709) to impose certain sanctions on foreign persons who transfer items contributing to Iran's efforts to acquire, develop, or produce ballistic missiles (Rept. 105-566). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. LINDER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 458. Resolution providing for further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2183) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes (Rept. 105-567). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of Rule X and clause 4 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. DINGELL (for himself and Mr. GORDON):

H.R. 3990. A bill to amend the Telephone Disclosure and Dispute Resolution Act to prevent unfair and deceptive practices in telephone billing for miscellaneous products or services; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky:

H.R. 3991. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide that the exclusion from gross income for foster care payments shall also apply to payments by certain nongovernmental placement agencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CRANE (for himself and Mr. MATSUI):

H.R. 3992. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to establish a 5-year recovery period for petroleum storage facilities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GORDON:

H.R. 3993. A bill to extend the period for beneficiaries of certain deceased members of the uniformed services to apply for a death gratuity under the Servicemembers' Group Life Insurance policy of such members; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KNOLLENBERG (for himself, Mr. HOEKSTRA, and Mr. UPTON):

H.R. 3994. A bill to amend the Wagner-Peyser Act to clarify that nothing in that Act shall prohibit a State from using indi-

viduals other than merit-staffed or civil service employees of the State (or any political subdivision thereof) in providing employment services under that Act; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts (for himself, Mr. McDERMOTT, and Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut):

H.R. 3995. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reduce the marriage penalty in the earned income tax credit; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STARK:

H.R. 3996. A bill to amend the Reclamation Wastewater and Groundwater Studies and Facilities Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to participate in the design, planning, and construction of the Alameda County Brackish Water Desalination Project for the reclamation and reuse of water, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. STARK (for himself, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, and Mr. BECERRA):

H.R. 3997. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to require Medicare+Choice organizations to assure access to obstetrician-gynecologists and to assure continuity of care; referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. ROHRBACHER (for himself, Mr. GILMAN, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey):

H.J. Res. 120. A joint resolution disapproving the extension of the waiver authority contained in section 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 with respect to Vietnam; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SOLOMON:

H.J. Res. 121. A joint resolution disapproving the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation treatment) to the products of the People's Republic of China; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BARTON of Texas (for himself, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. COBURN, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. HASTERT, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mr. GRAHAM, and Mr. LATHAM):

H. Res. 456. A resolution amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to provide for mandatory drug testing of Members, officers, and employees of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

#### ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 8: Mr. HERGER, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. ROYCE, and Mr. LEWIS of California.

H.R. 64: Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 371: Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. PETRI, and Ms. JACKSON-LEE.

H.R. 372: Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

H.R. 530: Mr. FOSSELLA, Mr. KING of New York, and Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina.

H.R. 535: Ms. SLAUGHTER.

H.R. 536: Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD.

H.R. 617: Mr. KLECZKA.

H.R. 746: Mrs. FOWLER.

H.R. 815: Mr. LIVINGSTON.

H.R. 857: Mr. PAPPAS.

H.R. 859: Mr. COX of California.

H.R. 1025: Mr. SANDERS.

H.R. 1037: Mr. BLUNT.

H.R. 1173: Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO.

H.R. 1315: Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon.

H.R. 1401: Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. LEACH, Mr.

LATHAM, Ms. DEGETTE, Ms. KAPTUR, and Ms. LEE.

H.R. 1689: Mr. GOODLATTE.

H.R. 1951: Mr. WYNN, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. MANTON, Mr. RAHALL, and Mr. PICKETT.

H.R. 2023: Mr. PALLONE.

H.R. 2094: Mr. JACKSON.

H.R. 2275: Ms. KILPATRICK and Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 2348: Mrs. BONO.

H.R. 2349: Mrs. BONO.

H.R. 2450: Mr. MANZULLO.

H.R. 2488: Mr. DEUTSCH.

H.R. 2504: Ms. CARSON.

H.R. 2593: Ms. SANCHEZ.

H.R. 2598: Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma.

H.R. 2661: Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. NORWOOD, and Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 2721: Mr. SESSIONS and Mr. BARCIA of Michigan.

H.R. 2740: Mr. ENSIGN.

H.R. 2818: Mrs. CAPPS.

H.R. 2854: Mr. MCGOVERN.

H.R. 2914: Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania

H.R. 2923: Mr. MCDADE and Mr. OLVER.

H.R. 2938: Mrs. MEEK of Florida.

H.R. 2956: Mr. THOMPSON.

H.R. 3001: Mr. BURR of North Carolina, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, and Mr. TAUZIN.

H.R. 3126: Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. SERRANO, and Mr. SANDERS.

H.R. 3128: Mr. HINCHEY.

H.R. 3149: Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 3151: Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 3162: Mr. NEY.

H.R. 3181: Mr. YATES.

H.R. 3189: Mr. SPENCE, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. BACHUS.

H.R. 3205: Mr. GOODE and Mr. FORD.

H.R. 3240: Mrs. MEEK of Florida.

H.R. 3243: Mr. STEARNS.

H.R. 3259: Mr. SANDERS, Mr. FORD, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. SERRANO, and Mr. FILNER.

H.R. 3262: Mr. WYNN.

H.R. 3283: Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, and Mr. HALL of Texas.

H.R. 3300: Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 3304: Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky and Mr. ENSIGN.

H.R. 3334: Mr. WATKINS, Mr. CLAVERT, Mr. ISTOOK, and Mr. SHADEGG.

H.R. 3396: Mr. MANTON, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. STRICKLAND, and Mr. NEY.

H.R. 3514: Mr. BORSKI.

H.R. 3537: Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. LUTHER, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Ms. CARSON.

H.R. 3567: Mr. KIM, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, and Mr. DEFazio.

H.R. 3570: Mr. ANDREWS and Mr. JACKSON.

H.R. 3605: Mr. SPRATT.

H.R. 3624: Mr. HOBSON and Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD.

H.R. 3640: Mr. SERRANO.

H.R. 3648: Mr. PICKERING and Mr. MCCOLLUM.

H.R. 3659: Mr. WICKER, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. RYUN, Mr. BOUCHER, and Mr. WALSH.

H.R. 3661: Mr. PICKERING and Mr. METCALF.

H.R. 3682: Mr. SCARBOROUGH.

H.R. 3687: Mr. STENHOLM.

H.R. 3783: Mr. CALVERT, Mr. NEUMANN, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr.

HUTCHINSON, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, and Mr. MCHUGH.

H.R. 3795: Mr. LOBIONDO.

H.R. 3831: Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. STOKES, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. SANDLIN.

H.R. 3833: Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. JACKSON, and Ms. CARSON.

H.R. 3862: Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon, Mr. STARK, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. COOK, and Mrs. MEEK of Florida.

H.R. 3879: Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. TALENT, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. NORWOOD, and Mr. MCHUGH.

H.R. 3886: Mr. ENSIGN.

H.R. 3911: Mr. FILNER.

H.R. 3925: Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. WYNN, and Mr. THOMPSON.

H.R. 3938: Mr. CAMP, Mr. ARCHER, and Ms. DANNER.

H.R. 3940: Mr. BECERRA, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. HILLIARD, and Mr. FROST.

H.R. 3948: Mr. DEFazio, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. SKELTON, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, and Mr. FILNER.

H.R. 3949: Mr. WICKER, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. NEY, and Mr. GOODE.

H.R. 3966: Mr. BARCIA of Michigan.

H. Con. Res. 27: Mr. TIERNEY.

H. Con. Res. 65: Mr. HAMILTON.

H. Con. Res. 229: Mr. BERMAN, Mr. DICKS, Mr. FOSSELLA, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. HORN, and Mr. PAPPAS.

H. Con. Res. 249: Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. VENTO, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, and Mr. GEPHARDT.

H. Con. Res. 264: Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. GOODE, and Mrs. THURMAN.

H. Con. Res. 270: Mr. BERMAN.

H. Con. Res. 274: Ms. FURSE, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. CLEMENT, and Mr. PORTER.

H. Res. 16: Mr. CANADY of Florida.

H. Res. 363: Mrs. BONO.

H. Res. 404: Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Ms. PELOSI, and Mr. BECERRA.

H. Res. 418: Mr. SOUDER.

H. Res. 438: Mr. ENSIGN.

H. Res. 444: Mr. LIPINSKI.

H. Res. 452: Mr. LIVINGSTON, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. BUYER, Mr. McCRERY, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. PAUL, Mr. COMBEST, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. BURR of North Carolina, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. WALSH, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. UPTON, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. QUINN, Mr. TALENT, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. BAKER, Mr. POMBO, Mr. WATKINS, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. EHRlich, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. BILBRAY, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. THUNE, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. NUSSLE, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. NETHERCUTT, and Mr. CAMP.

#### DELETIONS OF SPONSORS FROM PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were deleted from public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 1614: Mr. SKAGGS.

#### AMENDMENTS

Under clause 6 of rule XXIII, proposed amendments were submitted as follows:

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA

AMENDMENT No. 53: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATIONALS OF THE UNITED STATES  
SEC. 01. CLARIFICATION OF RIGHT OF NATIONALS OF THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Section 319(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e(b)(2)) is amended by inserting after "United States" the following: "or a national of the United States (as defined in section 101(a)(22) of the Immigration and Nationality Act)".

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Hutchinson)

AMENDMENT No. 54: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATIONALS OF THE UNITED STATES  
SEC. 01. CLARIFICATION OF RIGHT OF NATIONALS OF THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Section 319(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e(b)(2)) is amended by inserting after "United States" the following: "or a national of the United States (as defined in section 101(a)(22) of the Immigration and Nationality Act)".

OFFERED BY: Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA

AMENDMENT No. 55: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATIONALS OF THE UNITED STATES  
SEC. 01. CLARIFICATION OF RIGHT OF NATIONALS OF THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Section 319(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e(b)(2)) is amended by inserting after "United States" the following: "or a national of the United States (as defined in section 101(a)(22) of the Immigration and Nationality Act)".

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: Mr. GOSS

AMENDMENT No. 56: Insert after title III the following new title (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

TITLE IV—LIMIT ON CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NON-RESIDENTS  
SEC. 401. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PERSONS OTHER THAN LOCAL INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTS.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(1) A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not accept contributions with respect to a reporting period for an election—

"(1) from persons other than individual residents of the congressional district involved in excess of 50 percent of the total of contributions accepted; or

"(2) from persons other than individual residents of the State in which the congressional district involved is located in excess of 10 percent of the total of contributions accepted."

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: Mr. GOSS

(To the Amendment Offered by: Mr. Hutchinson or Mr. Allen)

AMENDMENT No. 57: Insert after title III the following new title (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

TITLE IV—LIMIT ON CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NON-RESIDENTS  
SEC. 401. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PERSONS OTHER THAN LOCAL INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTS.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(1) A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not accept contributions with respect to a reporting period for an election—

"(1) from persons other than individual residents of the congressional district involved in excess of 50 percent of the total of contributions accepted; or

"(2) from persons other than individual residents of the State in which the congressional district involved is located in excess of 10 percent of the total of contributions accepted."

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: Mr. GOSS

(To the Amendment Offered by: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 58: Add at the end of title I the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 104. REDUCTION IN LIMITATION AMOUNT APPLICABLE TO CONTRIBUTIONS BY A MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO A HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATE.

Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended by inserting after "\$5,000" the following: ", except that in the case of an election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, the limitation shall be \$1,000".

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: Mr. GOSS

(To the Amendment Offered by: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 59: Add at the end of title I the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 104. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PERSONS OTHER THAN LOCAL INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTS.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(1) A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not accept contributions with respect to a reporting period for an election—

"(1) from persons other than individual residents of the congressional district involved in excess of 50 percent of the total of contributions accepted; or

"(2) from persons other than individual residents of the State in which the congressional district involved is located in excess of 10 percent of the total of contributions accepted."